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25 October 1982

CHINA REPORT

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

REAPPEARANCE OF 'GHOST' OF JAPANESE MILITARISM SEEN

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 12 Aug 82 p 8

[Article by Dong Fengya [5516 6646 0068]: "A Ghost That Refuses To Leave"]

[Text] Why would they change "aggression" into "entered into"? A senior official of the Japanese Cabinet reasoned as follows: "At the time when the Japanese 'entered into' a foreign country, they never used the term 'aggression.' If we would speak of the 'entering' as of an aggression, it would distort the facts. Our children may then say that their (Japanese) forefathers did bad things and would not respect them."

The speech of a senior official is of course always something above the ordinary, but the above reasoning is really somewhat devious. Indistinctly we can make out in it the flash of an old ghost. For instance, what is after all a "fact"? Is it a fact whatever dirty business the (Japanese) forefathers" did who had been despatched on their expeditions? Or must we use another "term" to designate the dirty business they did? According to common reason it is the former and not the latter, but the senior official believes it is the latter and not the former. Let me then also "suppose" a bit along the line of the senior official's logic: If a robber "enters" the house of the said senior official, kills people, steals property, burns down the house—but never uses the term "robbery," may I ask how we are to describe the action so as not to distort the facts? Was it an "entry," or was it "robbery"? Let the senior official, who is so good at definitions, suggest what it is.

If it is a "fact" whatever the Japanese invaders did in China, then it can be summed up in one phrase: they went to the extreme in raping, burning, killing and looting. Wasn't the "three nothing-to-be-left policy" which the senior official's forefathers practiced in China at that time a policy of burning all, looting all and killing all? These facts are recorded in the written judgement on the Japanese war criminals passed by the International Military Tribunal for the Far East. Of course the 1,213 pages of that judgement could only list the salient events and leave it at that. However, these facts as they are implanted in the hearts of millions of Chinese are by far more specific, more numerous and more deeply imbedded. How can one say the term "aggression" is distorting the facts, and that the term "entered into" would be more appropriate instead?

And again, what after all is "distortion"? Confounding black and white, confusing public opinion, concealing faults and glossing over wrongs, pretending evil to make it look like good, isn't that distorting? Or is distorting distinguishing clearly between black and white, making name conform with reality and making truthful statements without concealment? According to normal reason it is again the former and not the latter, but the senior official again thinks it is the latter and not the former--namely by his saying "if we would speak of 'entering' as aggression, it would distort the facts." However, here again let me "suppose"--If we allow the version of the senior official to stand, then not only would Japan's original history textbooks be distorting facts and would the present Chinese protests be distorting facts, but the indictment and judgement of the International Tribunal for the Far East would become distortions of facts, because the Military Tribunal, basing on a large amount of irrefutable evidence (419 witnesses appeared before the tribunal, 779 persons gave written evidence and 4,300 items of evidence were handled during the trial), "determined that the military action against China as from 1931 was a war of aggression." The fifth chapter of the judgement is conspicuously headed "Japan's Aggression Against China." If the enlightened remarks of the senior official would be tenable, then the conviction of such war criminals as Hideki Tojo would have been an international miscarriage of justice and their rehabilitation should be sought. All history would have to be turned around and all statements and treaties that base on the acknowledgment of the war of aggression by Japan would have to be amended. May we ask, would the "facts" in this way become "distorted" or not? Although our senior official's ghostly talk does not make sense, his logic would certainly lead to these conclusions, and this revelation of one clear spot in the senior official's intent on mischief allows everyone without difficulties to get a glimpse of the whole picture.

Furthermore, what do we mean after all by "doing bad things"? Occupying and devastating another people's land, committing massacres of unparalleled savagry, raping and looting, killing and burning, all these by normal reason are "doing bad things," but in the opinion of the said senior official, commission of these monstrous crimes is not at all "doing bad things." As long as the term "aggression" was not used at the time of doing the dirty business, it is still worthy of finding our "esteem." If these acts would later be designated as "aggression"? Then they would be made out to be "doing bad things and would no more earn respect." The textbooks therefore had to be changed from "aggression" to "entered into." This concerns the great problem whether the Japanese children will have respect for the "forefathers" whom the senior official venerates with all his heart. It is also pertinent as to whether the people of today should take these "forefathers" as their example and again risk their lives to "enter" other countries on behalf of the senior officials of today, so that they, as future "forefathers," will earn the respect of their children. The term "entry" becomes so charmingly "neutral" and convenient, why then not making the mental effort and amending the term "aggression," and why, after making the change, should we be willing to part with it and change again? Anyone who says that a change must be made, must, we are afraid, be covered with bruises from the "entry" of that aggression and should be warded off, condemning his demands as "interference in internal affairs."

All Japanese who are in firm support of world peace and Sino-Japanese friendship truly deserve our respect, but we must be on guard against the ghosts of Tojo and his ilk coming back to haunt us! Look at the Tojo in the picture "The Great Japanese Empire," as he loudly complains about alleged injustices. We clearly see there the reappearance of this kind of ghosts.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ZHAO ZIYANG'S VISIT TO JAPAN, SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONS PRAISED

Beijing SHIJIE SHISHI [WORLD KNOWLEDGE] in Chinese No 13, 1 Jul 82 pp 2-3

[Article by Jiang Cheng [1203 2052]: "Towards A New Decade Of Sino-Japanese Relations"]

[Text] Premier Zhao Ziyang visited Japan from 31 May to 5 June. Although the time was short, the visit was rich and fruitful. Through this visit, Sino-Japanese friendship reached a new climax and undoubtedly had a positive impact on the relations between the two countries as well as on the peace and stability of Asia and the world. As a Japanese newspaper commentary stated, "This visit is a sure step towards Japanese-Chinese cooperation in the decade to come."

The Japanese Government attached much importance to this visit. The broad Japanese people showed warm welcome and friendship towards Premier Zhao and the Chinese people. Wherever they went, Premier Zhao and the delegation were warmly welcomed. During the visit, the friendly atmosphere made one feel that Sino-Japanese friendship has reached deep in the people's heart. Friendly intercourse between the Chinese and Japanese people, reaching back over 2,000 years and reinforced since the normalization of Sino-Japanese diplomatic relations, is now flourishing.

In 10 years, the governments of the two countries concluded a peace and friendship treaty and signed a series of agreements on trade, aviation, shipping, fishing, culture, science and technology. Government leaders of the two countries exchanged many visits. Trade between the two countries increased rapidly. Last year, the volume reached US \$10 billion, a tenfold increase since normalization. Japan has been the number one partner in our foreign trade. In jointly developing energy and natural resources, engaging in economic and technical cooperation, there has also been remarkable progress. Japan has made the commitment to provide US \$4 billion medium-low interest loan, which is the largest loan made to our country by a foreign government or an international financial organization. Last year close to 160,000 people exchanged visits, that is an eighteenfold increase since normalization. The friendly exchange between civil organizations also increased by leaps and bounds. Now there are 37 pairs of sister cities, provinces and counties [between the two countries].

During Premier Zhao's visit to Japan, be it in formal meetings or in informal conversations, a common topic was praising the tremendous development of the relations between the two countries since normalization. Both sides saw at present time that in the unstable international situation, difficult economic situation in the West and aggravated contradiction in the world, the smooth progress of Sino-Japanese relations has a special significance.

Leaders of the two countries highly value the unrelenting efforts made by the people and concerned citizens of the two countries in promoting Sino-Japanese friendship, establishing and developing good relations. Premier Zhao pointed out that the solid foundation of Sino-Japanese friendship was the basis on which friendly cooperation of the two countries could develop smoothly.

In Japan, some people were concerned that the changing international situation would affect Sino-Japanese relations. During the visit, Premier Zhao explained the general guideline of our foreign policy and clarified our basic stance towards the U.S. and the Soviet Union. He pointed out that the crisis in Sino-American relations was not yet over; in the future it depended on the decisions made by American leaders. He also pointed out that the deterioration of Sino-Soviet relations was not a result of improving Sino-American relations; likewise, the change in Sino-American relations would not bring about change in Sino-Soviet relations. Premier Zhao repeatedly emphasized that friendly cooperation with Japan was important in our foreign policy, the policy of developing friendly cooperation with Japan would not change. China and Japan should establish a long-term stable relation free from international turmoil. Prime minister Suzuki regarded that a positive contribution to the West was made when Japan developed relations with China. Reportedly he discussed the importance of developing relations with China at the summit meeting of seven Western industrialized countries which won approval from participating countries.

Leaders of the two countries, in a friendly atmosphere, constructively and frankly exchanged views on a broad range of issues. Both sides reached identical or similar views on many important international issues. Both sides regarded that the expansionist policy of the Soviet Union was the main root of international instability and tension. Leaders of the two countries reiterated from respective points of view their continuing effort to safeguard peace and stability of Asia and the world. Both sides recognized the importance of reinforcing relations with the Third World countries. Premier Zhao pointed out that the economic situation in many developing countries was deteriorating and if the situation did not improve, the economic problems of developed countries could not be solved either. This is not only an economic problem but also a political problem. Premier Zhao said that a global conference was called for. Reportedly Prime Minister Suzuki reflected Premier Zhao's suggestion in the seven-state summit meeting.

It is time to reflect on and reach some conclusion on the development of Sino-Japanese relations over the past decade. But it is more important to think and plan for the prospects of the next decade. This is a problem over which both China and Japan were concerned and were searching for [an answer]. Premier Zhao's visit to Japan tentatively answered this question, hence the great significance of the visit and an important factor in the successful conclusion of the visit.

Premier Zhao used an old Chinese saying which was familiar to Japanese people, "heaven well-timed, earth well-disposed, people in harmony," to describe the favorable condition for the economic development between the two countries and won widespread approval from the Japanese people who readily responded. They regarded the new interpretation of the old saying as fitting in reality and correctly catching the characteristics of Sino-Japanese relations.

Premier Zhao pointed out that in the future Sino-Japanese economic relations should develop these favorable conditions, following the three principles of "peaceful friendship, equal mutual benefit, long-term stability" and suggested laying the foundation for a long-term stable system of Sino-Japanese economic cooperation for the 1980's. He said, economic cooperation between the two countries should follow multiple channels, various methods, and leave the realm wide open. This kind of economic and trade relations cannot be one-sided, without affecting the economic and trade relations of the two countries with other countries. These outlooks mapped out a new direction for the development of Sino-Japanese economic relations, and can have far-reaching effects. The Japanese Government understood and responded to the three principles proposed by the Chinese. Prime Minister Suzuki was in total agreement. Japanese public opinion showed approval indicating that the accord of the two governments on the three principles was a wise choice and deserved to be "highly commended."

This fall, Prime Minister Suzuki will visit our country and celebrate the 10th anniversary of the normalization of diplomatic relations. The Chinese people will give him a warm welcome. We are convinced that the exchange of visits of government leaders of the two countries will push Sino-Japanese friendly cooperation forward to a new peak.

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CSO: 4005/1179

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

COMMENTARY ON ISRAELI-PLO WAR IN LEBANON

Beijing LIAOWANG [OBSERVATION POST] in Chinese No 8, 20 Aug 82 pp 35-36

[Article by Wang Guang [8001 0342]: "The Cause and Effect of the Disastrous War in Lebanon"]

[Text] The aggressive war against Lebanon launched by Israel in June of this year nakedly revealed its expansionist and aggressive intentions, and also exposed the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, thereby profoundly educating the Arab people and the people of all countries in the world.

Israel--Long Premeditated and Tragic Beyond Compare

Beginning on 4 June, Israel started an undeclared war against Lebanon. This was Israel's fifth war since 1948 against the Arabs, and was the longest and the one in which the greatest number of innocent civilians were cruelly killed or wounded. According to statistics, up to the first part of July within Lebanon's borders over 900,000 civilians had fallen victim, including dead, wounded, and refugees. The aggressors wantonly insulted and murdered captured Palestinian fighters and people. In all its previous aggressive wars, Israel had only invaded and occupied a strip of an Arab country's territory. But this time the Israeli aggressive army besieged and then advanced into and occupied the capital of an Arab country--Beirut--and drove its tanks right up to the Lebanese presidential palace, carrying out unscrupulous intimidation.

Although the Begin authorities have succeeded militarily for a period of time, they have suffered a serious defeat politically and morally. Within Israel tens of thousands of the masses have demonstrated and protested, demanding that the aggressive war be stopped. Batches of Israeli rank-and-file soldiers have continually publicly stood up in opposition to the "dirty war." Israeli newspapers say that this is the first time that such a situation has occurred in Israeli history.

Israel prepared for over a year for this aggressive war. Why did it choose this time as opportune to launch this aggressive war? In addition to making use at that time of international attention being focused on the new developments in the Malvinas Islands War between Britain and Argentina and the war between Iran and Iraq, Israel also made use of the rivalry between the U.S. and

Soviet hegemonists in the Gulf and the Middle East, particularly the serious splits within the Arab world. After signing the Camp David accords and the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty, after having just recovered the whole of Sinai, Egypt was evincing a tendency to become reconciled with the Arab world. However, Egypt's separation from the great majority of Arab states had not yet changed. The Iranian armed forces had defeated again and again the Iraqi armed forces that had entered Iran and had pressed toward the Iraqi border, which caused Iraq and other Gulf states to feel deeply threatened. The wrangles and antagonisms between the Arab states made it hard to form a united front to resist external aggression, so Israel threw its full power into the attack on the Palestinian resistance forces.

Israeli Defense Minister Sharon publicly stated that Israel's expansionist blueprint for the 1980's is to expand its "secure borders" and to delimit its "sphere of strategic and security interests" from Pakistan, Iran and Turkey through the Arab world to central Africa. Israel thinks that where there is a "threat" to its security, there it must deliver a "military blow." Some people think that Israel's raid in June of last year on Iraq's [nuclear] facility was a prelude to the pursuit of this strategy, and that this aggressive war against Lebanon was the beginning of this kind of action on a greater scale.

The United States and the Soviet Union--Both Engage in Open Strife and Veiled Struggle, Both Harbor Sinister Designs

That Israel dared to run this wild was because it enjoyed the connivance and support of the United States.

The goals of America's strategic plan for the Middle East and the Gulf area are to consolidate and expand its sphere of influence in this area, strengthen its military and political presence, and hold back the Soviet Union's strategy of moving south. To implement this strategic plan, the Reagan government uses the military and political "dual tactics" policy. The tactic it mainly stresses is the military one. Upon coming to power the Reagan government put the Palestinian question aside and stressed that it wanted the Arab states to "march in step in strategy" with America in confronting the Soviet Union. The result was that it was rebuffed by the Arab world. Under the strong demand by the Arab world, the Reagan government, indicated that it would "pay serious attention" to the Arab-Israeli conflict, but because it did not change its partiality to Israel's diehard position, it did not make the slightest headway in the peace process.

Washington's support this time of Israel's aggression against Lebanon was an expansion of its military tactic. The United States let Israel use its military superiority to open a way, by extracting the "armed teeth" of the Palestinian resistance forces and crippling Syria, to expand its own sphere of influence in Lebanon and resist the Soviet Union's possible use of the new developments in the Iran-Iraq war to step up the momentum in its drive to the south. Another aspect was that America thought through this war it could force some Arab states to yield and take part in the "Camp David peace process." The war in Lebanon clearly shows that the Reagan government used Israel in

pursuit of the U.S. strategic plan; one can say that it is a two-edged sword aimed both at the Soviet Union and the Arab states.

America and Israel coordinated extremely closely in this war. On the eve of Israel's starting the war, Sharon visited America and during talks in Washington he indicated that Israel was prepared to renew the U.S.-Israeli "strategic cooperation" agreements under which there would be an increase in the supply of arms to Israel. After Israel invaded Lebanon, Reagan many times personally supported Israel. In the UN Security Council, the United States vetoed in succession the proposals made by Asian and European countries, allowing Israel to gain the time to advance to the position it had planned to reach. After Israel besieged Beirut and surrounded the general headquarters of the Palestinian resistance units, the special envoy to the U.S. President, Habib--this Marshall of the 1980's--came on stage to "mediate negotiations," but in essence he tried his best to compel the Palestinian, Syrian, and Lebanese side to accept the U.S.-Israeli conditions.

After Israel launched its aggressive war, the Arab people's anti-U.S. feeling intensified. When the UN General Assembly passed a resolution on a cease-fire and withdrawal of troops, which Israel rejected, only two votes--those of America and Israel--were cast in opposition, which showed to what degree America had become isolated in the world. Even some people in America's ruling circles thought that America could only "temporarily score gains" and that it would sustain "long-term political and strategic losses." They worried that the American position in the Middle East would suffer "losses that would be difficult to estimate" and would give the Soviet Union an opportunity it could exploit to its advantage. However, so long as the U.S. authorities do not change their basic policy, America must face all the far-reaching consequences that it created itself.

In this aggressive war by Israel, the true face of the Soviet Union, which has all along flaunted itself as the "natural ally of the Palestinians and Arabs, was once again revealed. Arab public opinion pointed out: "The Arab people were shocked by the Soviet Union's stand on Israeli's aggression" when the Soviet Union, at a difficult time for Arabs, "slipped away" and did not support the Palestinian and Syrian resistance to Israeli aggression. In fact, this is not a new position of the Soviet Union, because in the many Arab-Israeli wars and conflicts, it never truly supported Arab resistance to aggression. Especially when it could have risked confrontation with the United States, it would even less give its support. This time the Soviet Union opposed aggression as it did in the 1967 war, when it used the Arab defeat and the Arabs' contradictions with America and Israel to seek an expansion of its influence.

Moscow worries that the developments in the Lebanese situation will "affect the interests of the Soviet Union." When America announced that it was preparing to send marines to Beirut, Brezhnev immediately issued a "warning" to America. Subsequently, Brezhnev reiterated his proposal for the convening of an international conference on the Middle East which would wholeheartedly press for a "political solution" of the Palestinian and Middle East problems. And it is worthwhile for people to note that precisely in the middle of June when

Israel was besieging the Palestinian units that Zamyatin, director of the International Propaganda Department of the CPSU Central Committee, in an interview with the American weekly TIME, advocated that the United States and the Soviet Union hold consultations on "ending this conflict." He also briefly stated that the Arab countries in the end will "unite to resist the aggressors," but he took pains to say: "We are now on the eve of a new Arab-Israeli war" and "the superpowers would set about doing something about this development just as we stopped the slaughter in 1973." Hearing this kind of talk makes people dizzy! It seems as if the fate of the Arab people cannot be arranged unless they look to the superpowers! It is perfectly clear that what Moscow is truly concerned about is not the interests of the Arab people but rather its contention that the United States for spheres of influence and that the interests of the Arab people are to be bargained about. In Moscow's view, the struggle of the Palestinian forces and the Arab states is nothing more than a bargaining chip in its trial of strength with Washington in the Middle East and the entire globe.

Arab Countries--If United They Will Win, If Divided They Will Be Defeated

In the fifth anti-Arab aggressive war launched by Israel, the internal reason for the setback to the Arab countries is that for a long time the Arab countries have not got along with each other and cannot unite to face the enemy.

This war in Lebanon was basically a war between Israel and the Palestinian resistance units. An important factor in the emergence of this situation was that some Arab states only provided, to different degrees, economic aid and moral support, but did not provide adequate military support. However, the people of the whole world saw that the Palestinian fighters, in a situation in which there was a wide disparity in the balance of forces, courageously and staunchly waged a war of resistance. Even Israeli Chief of Staff Eitan admitted the intensity of Palestinian military resistance, and said that as far as Israel is concerned, it "was far more dangerous than anybody had imagined."

The whole world recognizes that the Palestinian problem is the key to solving the Middle East problem. Although the Palestinian resistance forces have now suffered a setback, the cause and the forces of Palestinian liberation have not and cannot be wiped out. Since the 1970's, the Palestinian resistance forces have repeatedly suffered reverses, but as long as they remain united, persist in their struggle, adopt correct policies and tactics, and make strenuous efforts, they will certainly be able to overcome their present serious difficulties and finally attain victory.

Through this aggressive war by Israel, the Arab people have come to understand even more: the Arab nations are a whole, and their fate and interests are bound by a common cause; if the Arab people are to defeat the Israeli aggressors, then they cannot believe in the United States or rely upon the Soviet Union--there is also nothing to fear from the two hegemonists--and "the only way" is to unite and face the enemy together. After this performance by Begin

and the U.S. and Soviet hegemonists, if all the Arab states get rid of their differences and forge a new unity, then this "bad thing" will turn into a "good thing."

The Middle East is the center of turmoil in the contemporary world, and in it are concentrated various complex and sharp contradictions. Israel's aggression against Lebanon has greatly intensified these contradictions. The contradictions between Israel and the Palestinian and Arab peoples have been aggravated. With America persisting in its support of Israel and the threat of the Soviet Union's drive to the south intensifying, the contradictions between the Arab countries and the superpowers are bound to become even more intense. A new, even more intense contention between the superpowers in this area has begun. It can be predicted that this war will throw the Middle East situation into even more turmoil.

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CSO: 4005/1311

PARTY AND STATE

FUJIAN PARTY CADRES INDICTED FOR ACCEPTING BRIBERY

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 23 Aug 82 p 1

[Article by staff reporter: "Disregarding the Party's Disciplinary Law, Accepting Bribes From Relative of an Overseas Chinese--Fuzhou Sugar, Cigarette and Liquor Corporation Vice President Lin Chaunqian [2651 1557 5409], Has Been Indicted"]

[Text] Lin Chuanqian [2651 1557 5409], vice president of the Fuzhou Sugar, Cigarette, and Liquor Corporation, has accepted bribery from a relative of an overseas Chinese. Recently, the Commission for Inspecting Discipline has decided to sentence her to 2 years under observation without removing her party membership, but will strip her of administrative duties.

Toward the end of 1980, Wang Jiangsheng [3769 1696 5168] of the Fuzhou Tingjiang [0080 3068] Commune's Xiang Yang [6272 3152] Group, a relative of an overseas Chinese, wanted to obtain permission from Fuzhou Public Security Bureau to go to Hong Kong as quickly as possible. He managed to get to know Lin Chuanqian via his first cousin's husband, a teacher at Fuzhou No 11 Middle School. Later, Wang Jiansheng often visited Lin Chuanqian's home to inquire about going to Hong Kong. He also gave her gifts of HK\$5,000 plus two bottles of 'Chin Jiang' [6855 1162] brand brandy. Soon after, Lin Chuanqian's acceptances of the bribe was exposed. On 9 March 1981, higher-level authorities of the Commission for Inspecting Discipline sent people over to investigate this incident. Only then, on 18 March did Lin Chuanqian sneakily return the HK\$5,000 along with the two bottles of "Chin Jiang" brandy to Wang Jiansheng through the teacher at the 11th Middle School.

Lin Chuanqian, a leading cadre, had accepted from Wang Jiansheng, a relative of an overseas Chinese, bribery money of 5,000 Hong Kong dollars and the two bottles of 'Chin Jiang' brandy. Furthermore, she'd kept them at her home for more than two months. After the incident was exposed, she returned the items directly to the briber without going through the Bureau. Thus, she not only tried to cover herself but also of her briber's behavior. This kind of behavior is seriously wrong in nature and ideology. Severe disciplinary measure is directed to Lin Chuanqian in order to reeducate her as well as setting an example to all other cadres. As for the briber, Wang Jiansheng receives criticism/reeducation. In addition, the Bureau also decided to confiscate the 5,000 Hong Kong yuan bribe.

CSO: 4005/41

PARTY AND STATE

SINO-JAPANESE NEGOTIATIONS ON '21 DEMANDS' VIEWED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 31 Aug 82 p 5

[Article by Min Ge [7036 2047]: "The Sino-Japanese Negotiations on the '21 Demands'"]

[Text] In January 1915 Japanese imperialism presented 21 unreasonable demands to the Chinese government with the intention of thereby gaining with one stroke full domination of China and hegemony over all of East Asia. The related historical negotiations which took place over a period of 5 months are an important page in the history of Japanese aggression against China.

After the failure of the 1911 Revolution, China still remained a semicolonial country under the control of a number of imperialist states. When World War I broke out in Europe in 1914, the powers that had invaded China were split into two camps, the Central Powers headed by Germany and Austria, and the countries of the Entente comprised of England, France, Russia and some other countries. The two camps engaged in killing each other off and for a time were unable to give any attention to the situation in the Far East. Japanese imperialism saw this as an excellent opportunity to carry out its "continental policy." It joined the Entente and declared war on Germany and Austria. Using this as its justification, it prevented by every trick and scheme that China recover Jiaozhou Bay, which Germany had invaded and occupied, and on the other hand, dispatched its own armed forces to invade China, capture and occupy Jiaozhou Bay and the Qingdao-Jinan railway line, thus replacing Germany in the position of aggressor in Shandong Province and raising its own position to that of prime criminal among the aggressor powers.

At that time the Yuan Shikai government was making active preparations for a restoration of the monarchy. Yuan was convinced that as long as he had the support of the imperialist powers, his ascension to the imperial throne would be safe from any domestic opposition in China. Faced with the Japanese aggression in Shandong and the enslavement of the Chinese people, Yuan made a hypocritical show of protest to appease the demands of the entire nation to stop the aggression, but in actual fact he compromised and yielded. The Japanese Prime Minister Okuma had well detected Yuan's wild ambition of making himself emperor and decided to take advantage of the opportunity that presented itself in the wake of the military aggression in Shandong, for a further coercion in line with the strategic plan of complete domination of China.

According to the predetermined policy of the Okuma government and following its directives, the Japanese Ambassador to China, Hioki Eki, personally presented Yuan Shikai the 21 demands under the pretext of bringing a solution to all "pending questions" in the Sino-Japanese negotiations. He furthermore stated that if these demands would be accepted, it would be a proof of "Sino-Japanese friendship" and the Japanese Government would then also "render assistance when matters arise." He finally demanded of Yuan Shikai strict secrecy and a quick reply.

The 21 demands fall into five groups. The first group requires recognition of Japan as successor to German rights in Shandong and demands that Shandong not be ceded or leased to any other power and that Japan be allowed to build a railway from Yantai (Longkou) to link up with the Qingdao-Jinan railway. The second group demands recognition of Japan's special rights in South Manchuria (now the southern part of the Northeastern Provinces) and in Eastern Inner Mongolia, with Japanese nationals to have the right of residence and travel in these areas, the right to engage in business and in manufacture and to open mines, etc. The term of lease of Lushun and Dalian, as well as the lease of the South Manchurian Railway and the Andong-Fengtian Railway were to be extended to 99 years. The third group demands that the Hanyeping Company be made a joint Sino-Japanese enterprise, that China may not by her own act dispose of any rights and properties of the company and that all mines in the neighborhood must not be permitted to be worked by other persons outside the said company. The fourth group demands that China must not cede or lease to a third power any harbor, bay or island along the coast of China. The fifth group demands that the Chinese Government employ Japanese as advisers in political, financial and military affairs, that China and Japan shall jointly administer the police and jointly operate an arsenal, that China grant Japan the right of constructing railways connecting Wuchang and Nanchang, Nanchang and Hangzhou and Nanchang and Chaozhou, and that Japan should be given priority in the working of mines, construction of harbor works and dockyards and the building of railways in Fujian Province. China also was to agree that Japanese nationals should have the right of missionary propaganda in China. Very obviously, the 21 demands aimed at placing Chinese political, military and financial affairs and all of China's territory under complete Japanese control. This arrangement would have not only seriously infringed on China's sovereignty, but also threatened to infringe on the rights of the other imperialist powers in China, so that even Yuan Shikai himself did not dare to accept the demands immediately. On hearing all that Hioki Eki had to say, Yuan therefore hurriedly replied: "I have to consult my foreign minister in this matter."

As soon as the news of the 21 demands leaked out, it aroused the furious indignation of all strata of the Chinese people. The people bitterly denounced Japanese imperialism for its act of banditry, and the strong call to the people to rise in self-defense resounded throughout the country. The masses in all big cities congregated in large numbers, set up anti-Japanese patriotic organizations and launched a militant boycott of Japanese goods. Under Japanese pressure, Yuan repeatedly forbade the boycott, but the anti-Japanese patriotic movement broke through all kinds of obstructions and its momentum

grew stronger and stronger. Formal talks on the 21 demands thus began under the clamor of a nationwide protest. The talks were carried on in complete secrecy, two to three times a week, starting on 2 February. The Chinese Government was represented by Foreign Minister Lu Zhengxiang and Deputy Foreign Minister Cao Rulin, with Cao actually conducting the talks under the directives of Yuan. The representatives of the Japanese Government were Hioki Eki and Torikichi Obata. In the course of the negotiations, Hioki on the one hand held out the lure of support for Yuan's monarchical ambitions and on the other hand threatened with military force, pushing and pulling from all directions to have Yuan accept all demands totally and uncritically. Yuan would have surrendered were it not that he feared for himself in view of the violently rising anti-Japanese mood of the people of the whole country. Yuan finally amended the original 21 demands somewhat and put forward a revised draft, which in secret allowed Japan to reap a certain amount of gains but outwardly showed that he did not lightly sell out his country's rights and interests. However, Hioki refused to yield an inch, tightened his pressure and finally, under the pretext of having fallen from his horse and suffered injuries, refused to attend further meetings, while blackmailing Yuan with the threat of military action. Yuan Shikai feared the negotiations would break down and in the end disregarded all national dignity by immediately sending his representative to the Japanese embassy to enquire after Hioki's health, also indicating that Lu and Cao would come to Hioki's bedside to continue the negotiations. As rude and arbitrary an attitude as shown by Hioki is rare in international contacts.

At the time of the 21 demands, Japan not only wanted Yuan to keep everything secret from the Chinese people, but also enacted a gross fraud on the other powers. Japan notified England, France, America and Russia of only groups 1 to 4, but withheld purposely information on the most important group 5 of its demands. When the full text of the 21 demands became known in China and abroad, there was great anger among all the European and American powers whose rights in China had been infringed upon by Japan, and one after the other they lashed out against Japan, while at the same time the wave of patriotic militancy against Japan among all strata of the Chinese population rose higher and higher with every passing day. The Japanese government, seeing its plot exposed and leading to a serious situation, chose as its best way out to proclaim that the fifth group of demands were only "articles expressing hopes and wishes" in the nature of an exhortation. Japan in this way tried to mix up black and white and to deceive the people in China and abroad. Later the Japanese put forward another draft which contained approximately the same demands but merely changed the terminology, making it appear as if the harshness of the conditions had been alleviated, but in actual fact changing little. In the case of the fifth group of demands the new draft merely allowed deferring the matter until future negotiations. This was followed up by a Japanese ultimatum on 7 May demanding full acceptance within 48 hours, as Japan would otherwise take "all necessary steps." The Japanese government simultaneously dispatched troops to Shenyang, Qingdao and other places as a show of strength and to back up its unreasonable demands.

In all its negotiations with Japan, the Yuan government had relied on Great Britain as its backup force. At this point, Great Britain, seeing that Japan

had withdrawn the demand for railway construction in the British zone of influence (the Yangtze river basin), changed its tune and "admonished" the Yuan Government to "endure the humiliation for a more important purpose and to accept the demands." Now that Yuan had been disappointed in his hopes for a European-American intervention and also feared that offending Japan would destroy his chances of becoming a puppet emperor, he decided to yield to the pressure of Japanese imperialism and accept the conditions of the ultimatum, justifying his action by the long-standing weakness of China and its inability to resist foreign aggression. On 9 May, Lu and Cao went to the Japanese embassy to transmit the reply which accepted all Japanese demands except the fifth group which was "deferred for later negotiations."

Aggressors never admit being aggressors. Japanese imperialism, having thus forced China with unbridled oppression to accept the demands that would have destroyed China, was still proclaiming hypocritically that the purpose had been to solve "outstanding matters" in Sino-Japanese relations, that it was to establish "good neighborly relations," and for "Sino-Japanese friendship." They even went so far as to arrange "celebration meetings" to celebrate what they called "a mutual give and take for the happiness of all of East Asia," etc. To deceive the Chinese people, Yuan Shikai too had his hirelings in the press turn things upside down and call, what actually had been a surrender to Japan, "a diplomatic achievement of our Head of State." However, all these devilish tricks played by the domestic and foreign reactionaries could not conceal the unlawfulness of the 21 demands. As soon as the news of Yuan's acceptance of the 21 demands had leaked out, the whole nation regarded it as a deep disgrace and humiliation. Sun Yatsen sharply criticized Yuan Shikai's treasonable policy and stated his belief that the overthrow of the Yuan Shikai regime was necessary if the people were to achieve their independence. Men of all strata of the population campaigned throughout the country, held demonstrations and denounced in indignant rage the treasonable deal of the Yuan government, firmly opposing the criminal act of aggression by Japanese imperialism against China. In Hankou students and merchants smashed up Japanese business establishments. In Shanghai the workers in Japanese-owned factories went on strike. In Beijing, Zhenjiang, Fuzhou and many other places anti-Japanese patriotic demonstration took place. The violent indignation and resistance of the Chinese people prevented the full implementation of the 21 demands and in actual fact rendered them null and void.

9808

CSO: 4005/1283

PARTY AND STATE

PROVINCIAL CPC MEETINGS DISCUSS DRAFT CONSTITUTION

Conclusion of Shandong Session

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 25 Jul 82 p 1

[Text] The 18th session of the Fourth Shandong Provincial Political Consultative Conference Standing Committee was concluded yesterday afternoon (the 24th).

With great political enthusiasm and a high sense of responsibility, the comrades who attended this meeting seriously studied and discussed the "Revised Draft of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Constitution" and unanimously felt that this revised draft was more complete than previous ones, that it summarized both positive and negative experiences, that it eliminated the ideological influence of the "Left" which was present before the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, that it was substantive, that it better embodied the spirit of the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and of the "Revised Draft of the State Constitution," that it clearly stipulated the nature, duties and functions of the people's consultative conference, that it reflected the special characteristics of the political consultative work in the new period of our nation, and that it met the needs of developing circumstances. There was universal agreement that the drafting of the new constitution had tremendous significance in terms of mobilizing the initiative of political consultative organizations and their members at every level, better fostering the functions of the people's political consultative conferences, further consolidating and developing the patriotic united front, promoting the construction of socialist material and spiritual civilizations and realizing the peaceful reunification of the motherland. During the study and discussions, everyone, in line with the spirit of fostering democracy, allowing everyone to have his say and pooling wisdom, offered suggestions and opinions about revisions in the draft constitution.

During the full session convened yesterday afternoon, the Standing Committee of the Fourth Provincial Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference resolution concerning discussions on the revisions in the "Revised Draft of the Constitution of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference" was unanimously passed. The decision was made to make Comrade Gao Ping [7559 1627], a former KMT air force captain, who served as a reserve pilot

in an insurrection and who is presently an advisor to the Provincial People's Aviation Bureau, a member of the political consultative conference and, moreover, to nominate him as a candidate for the standing committee of the conference.

Zhou Xingfu [0719 2502 1133], vice chairman of the provincial political consultative conference, chaired yesterday's full session, and Vice chairman Wang Zhe [3769 0772] gave a speech. Vice chairmen Xu Meisheng [1776 4168 3932], Guo Yicheng [6753 6318 6134], Li Sijing [2621 1835 2417], Zhang Weicen [1728 5588 1478], Jiang Guodong [3068 0948 2767] and Fan Yusui [5400 0056 6659] attended the session. Members of the National Political Consultative Conference in our province and the persons in charge of the united front departments of the provincial party committee and every local party committee and those in charge of the political consultative work in every city, county and prefecture attended the session as nonvoting delegates.

Conclusion of Fujian Session

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 9 Aug 82 p 1

[Text] The 15th session of the standing committee of the Provincial People's Political Consultative Conference was held in Fuzhou from 2 August to 6 August.

The session studied the speech given by Deng Xiaoping [6772 1420 1627] at the committee meeting on the revised draft of the political consultative constitution, and the essays "Clarifying the Position and Functions of the Political Consultative Conference" by Comrade Hu Qiaomu [5170 0829 4539] and "Explaining the Revised Draft of the Political Consultative Constitution" by Liu Ningyi [0491 1337 0001], and carried out a lively discussion. The standing committee members at the session felt that the revised draft of the constitution had summarized our nation's united front and political consultative work experience and manifested the requirements that people from all walks of life participate in the four modernizations and that we reunite the motherland. This revised draft is more complete than its predecessors, the major elements being: taking the constitution to be the basic principles guiding political consultative activities; making the upholding of the four fundamental principles the foundation of the democratic consultation of the body; further clarifying the nature, position and tasks of the political consultative body; clearly stipulating the rights of members of the body; and affirming the position and function of the intelligentsia. Many comrades said that this revised draft of the constitution would be certain to promote new development of our patriotic united front. Opinions concerning revisions were also aired at the session.

The session requested that the members of political consultative organizations in every city and county and people in all walks of life discuss the revised draft of the constitution and offer ideas concerning revisions.

In order to meet the demands of new circumstances and in support of the four modernizations task in our province, the session decided: the political

consultative conference would add or reorganize committees on economic work, scientific and technological work, and educational work, and would appoint directors and vice directors of these committees.

The session was chaired by Wu Hongxiang [0124 3163 4382], the chairman of the provincial political consultative conference, and was attended by the following vice chairmen of the provincial political consultative conference; Wei Jinshui [7614 6855 3055], Yuan Gai [5913 2395], Chen Xizhang [7115 1585 0112], Guo Ruiren [6753 3843 0086], Lu Haoran [4151 0318 5535 54], Xiong Zhagren [3574 0340 0088], Luo Bingqin [5012 3521 0295 3], Ni Songmao [0242 2646 5399] and Zuo Fengmei [1563 0023 5019]. The Fuzhou members of the National Political Consultative Conference, the vice chairmen of the Fuzhou and Xiamen municipal political consultative conferences, the leaders of the united front departments of every area and municipality and the full-time members of the provincial level organs of each democratic party attended the session as nonvoting delegates.

9705

CSO: 4005/1229

PARTY AND STATE

FOZHOU MINORITY NATIONALITIES DISCUSS DRAFT CONSTITUTION

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 20 Jul 82 p 2

[Article by Lin Zhaosheng [2651 0340 5116], Reporter Team of the Bureau of Civil Administration: "Representatives of the Various Minority Nationalities of Fuzhou Municipality Discuss the Draft Constitution--A One-Time Practical Experience of Being Masters of Their Own Affairs for the Various Nationalities"]

[Text] The Provincial Department of Civil Administration and the Municipal Bureau of Civil Administration invited the representatives of the minority nationalities to a meeting on 10 July to discuss the draft of the revised constitution.

Participating at the meeting were representatives of the Gaoshan, She, Hui, Manzhou, Mongol and Uighur nationalities. There was a lively discussion and all agreed that having the draft constitution discussed by the various nationalities of the whole country is a manifestation of our country's socialist democracy and a one-time practical experience in exercising their rights as masters of their own affairs, and that it is indicative of a completely new relationship of equality, solidarity and mutual aid among the socialist nationalities of our country. The representative of the She nationality, Lei Yihua [7191 0001 5478], a female attendant at the Fuzhou Travel Service, said that in the old society the She people were looked down upon. If we She people are today most joyfully participating in the discussion of the draft constitution and thus joining all others in attending to a major affair of state, it shows the uniform equality of all nationalities in our state.

The specific provisions on the nationality problem in the draft constitution greatly impressed the representatives of the minority nationalities attending the meeting. They regarded the provisions of the draft constitution as broadening the self-governing powers of the autonomous regions of the minority nationalities. They recognized that the draft constitution stipulates state help for the autonomous minority regions to train from among their own people cadres of all ranks, specialists of various kinds and technically qualified workers, and that the draft constitution allows the use and development of their own languages, cultural freedom, etc. These stipulations are of far-reaching significance in promoting the great solidarity among all nationalities on the foundation of socialism and in arousing the various

nationalities to join in the socialist modernization drive. The representative of the Manzhou nationality, Luo Rongyin [5012 2827 5593], who had returned from Taiwan to settle down in Fuzhou sometime before last year's Spring Festival and who is deputy chief engineer of the Provincial Navigation Bureau, recalled the unforgettable scenes witnessed during a tour, some days ago, of various areas of the fatherland and said full of emotions that now our country is paying greatest attention to the minority nationalities. Not only are there specific provisions concerning the minority people written into the new constitution, but we are also allowed to participate in a nationwide discussion. What a respectful attitude this is! This year I am already an old man of 76 years of age and it is my desire to contribute the rest of my life to the four modernizations undertaken by our fatherland. The representative of the Gaoshan people, Xie Zhihua [6200 2655 5478], a worker at the Fuzhou Timber Mill, said, the preamble of the draft constitution stipulates clearly that it is the sacred duty of the whole people, including our compatriots on Taiwan, to achieve the great undertaking of unifying our fatherland. This expresses clearly that it is not only the desire of our Taiwan compatriots, but the sacred duty of our Taiwan compatriots to achieve the unification of our fatherland. I myself, being a member of the Gaoshan nationality on Taiwan, am determined to make my contribution as my duty toward the return of Taiwan to the fatherland.

9808

CSO: 4005/1227

PARTY AND STATE

STRENGTHENING LEGAL SYSTEM TO ENSURE LONG-RANGE PUBLIC ORDER URGED

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 30 Jul 82 p 3

[Article by Fu Yuannan [0265 6678 0589] and Kong Lingyuan [1313 0109 0626]]

[Text] One of the important features of the draft constitution is its stress on the principle of a socialist legal system, and it is more complete in this respect as compared with the preceding three constitutions. Apart from repeating the stipulation of the 1954 Constitution of all citizens being equal before the law, the draft furthermore stipulates: "All government organs and the people's armed forces, all party and social organizations, the organizations of all enterprises and industries must all abide by the Constitution and the law. No organization or individual shall have privileges above and beyond the Constitution and the law." This reflects our country's spirit of a strengthened rule by law.

The increased stress on the principle of a socialist legal system has the important effect of ensuring our country's long-range public order, of guaranteeing people's democracy and of guaranteeing that we will be able for a long period of time to carry on smoothly our work of socialist modernizations. Our socialist legal system is guided by Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and built up on the will of our people; it represents the basic interests of the people of the whole country. The purpose of strengthening the legal system is to protect the people's democratic regime, to protect the socialist political system that we have established and the economic system that we have built up, to protect the right of the people to fully exercise control over the state and the society and to protect the good order for the people to pursue their normal life, work and study. Although the exploiting classes as classes have been eliminated in our country, the class struggle has not yet been concluded. We must be aware of the fact that under the present conditions in our country there are still counterrevolutionary elements and hostile elements and in some places the remnant forces of the "gang of four" engaging in activities, and that occasionally such criminal activities as murder, robbery, rape, etc. still occur and seriously disrupt public order and security. In the economic field such serious criminal activities as smuggling and selling of smuggled goods, speculation and profiteering, corruption and bribery are still rampant to a considerable degree. If we do not apply a socialist legal system to control these criminal activities and let them spread unchecked, what kind of a people's democracy would

then be left? Could we still speak of any socialism? It shows that only by truly implementing rule by law can we really guarantee long-range public order and our country's triumphant advances.

The socialist legal system ensures the realization of socialist democracy not only by striking down our enemies and protecting our people, but also by serving as a norm for all activities by which we individually exercise our democratic rights. Owing to the influence of a legal nihilism and especially also due to the sabotage and disrespect for the Constitution by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques, great damage has been done over a long period of time to the prestige of the Constitution. Some people believed --and that erroneous belief is still extant to this day--that it is immaterial whether we have a constitution and whether we abide by it. This reflects an abnormal period in our country's life. Conditions have now completely changed, and under the new conditions, education should have changed those erroneous ideas. It is also wrong if some people are of the opinion that the strong emphasis on the legal system will impede democracy. Socialist democracy and socialist legal system are interdependent and inseparable. A democracy that foregoes a socialist legal system, that foregoes the leadership of the party and foregoes discipline and order is certainly not a socialist democracy. Outside the sphere of the provisions and guarantees of the Constitution and the law, democracy cannot develop in a healthy way. In the enjoyment and exercise of their various rights, the citizens may certainly not do as they please, do whatever they like and act in whatever way they like, but must always observe the prerequisite of not violating the Constitution and the relevant provisions of the law. This is a basic demand of the socialist legal system. Under no circumstances must we place democracy and the legal system into antagonistic opposite positions. We must be clearly aware that only by fully asserting the role of democracy, can we establish a perfect socialist legal system, and only by conscientiously implementing the socialist legal system, can we really guarantee the democratic rights of the people. Neither democracy nor the legal system should be overemphasized at the expense of the other. The draft constitution, in an even more perfect way, integrates to a high degree both democracy and the legal system.

Of course, a perfect legal system requires the existence of law that can be relied upon, law that must be complied with and execution of law that is strict, while every violation of law will be prosecuted. This will bring about an institutionalization and legalization of all state affairs. If there is perfect constitution and law, but these are not seriously implemented, and affairs not dealt with strictly according to law, they would amount to empty letters. We must therefore raise the awareness of the Constitution's dignity and firm stability, strengthen the conception of the legal system, consciously guard the sanctity of the Constitution and law and establish a new habit of observing discipline and abiding by the law.

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CSO: 4005/1227

PARTY AND STATE

PARTY MEMBERS URGED TO SUBMIT TO TRANSFERS

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 2 Aug 82 p 3

[Article by Li Qin [2621 0530]: "Party Members Should Unconditionally Submit to Organizational Transfers"]

[Text] Our party has historically upheld the following regulation: Party members and party cadres are to accept unconditionally all work that the organization assigns them, regardless of where it is to be done or what position it involves. This is an important organizational principle of our party. During the war period, countless Communist Party members placed party interests before their own lives, consciously submitting to party arrangements, taking the entire world to be their home, carrying on battles in both the north and the south and repeatedly performing meritorious service. During the period of socialist construction, the broad Communist Party members placed the interests of the party above all else, willingly acting as one "brick" in the wall of revolution, "moving" wherever there was a need, and making outstanding contributions in all the positions they filled.

But this excellent tradition of our party was severely damaged during the 10 years of unrest, and the ideology of some party members (including leading party cadres) was corrupted. They have never been able to accept happily the work assigned by the party organization. Some create any excuse to refuse an organizational transfer; some take advantage of the transfer to bargain with the party; some plead with others to speak on their behalf, trying to make "key links"; some just flat out use both soft and hard tactics to postpone the move anywhere from several months to 1 or 2 years, continuing to draw wages without doing the work. This unorganized and undisciplined behavior is not in keeping with the glorious title of Communist Party member.

It is extremely necessary that we teach party members organizational discipline, seeing to it that each one thoroughly understands the principle that the interests of the party come before all else, that each one correctly handles the relationship between individual interest and organizational interest and that each one consciously submits to organizational arrangements. If a party member feels that arrangements made for him by the organization are not suitable, he should make his opinions known while doing the work, and he must accept the final decision made by the organization. Those Communist Party members who refuse to submit to organizational transfers, use all manner of tactics to avoid them and make trouble unreasonably, and who do not change their ways after repeated education should be given the necessary discipline to correct their unhealthy tendencies.

PARTY AND STATE

PREFECTURAL COMMITTEE IN ZHEJIANG CARRIES OUT EDUCATION IN PARTY DISCIPLINE

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 10 Jul 82 p 4

[Article: "Education in Party Spirit, Party Practices, and Party Discipline Conscientiously Carried Out on Party Members"]

[Text] Our reporters Shen Zhiwei and Yu Yunda report that: Jinhua Prefecture in Zhejiang province is educating party members in party spirit, party practices, and party discipline. By the middle third of June, committee members of party branches throughout the province had universally received one such course of education, 80 percent of the 130,000 party members throughout the countryside had been educated once, and the majority of party members had been inspired with revolutionary enthusiasm.

At the beginning of this year, the Jinhua prefectural committee made an analysis of the party organizational situation at the various levels, and the ideological situation of party members, and came to the conclusion that there were many problems: a good many party organizations throughout the prefecture were in a lax and weak condition; the morale of a considerable number of party members and leading cadres was flagging and they were enthusiastic only in managing cozy nests for individuals; some cadres were in ideological conflict with the party's programs and policies since the Third Plenum; some party members were engaging in dishonest practices, were undermining the foundations of socialism, or had even become completely corrupt.

Aiming specifically at these circumstances, the prefectural committee pointed out clearly that this year the overhaul and consolidation of party organizations and the education of party members were to be given major priority. First of all, the prefectural committee took charge of educating the members of leading bodies and members of the county and municipal committees in party nature, party practices, and party discipline. In the second third of February of this year, they also gathered together cadres of the county and municipal committees at the standing committee level and above, concentrated them in the prefectural headquarters, and solved the problems existing among their leading bodies. The 11 counties and municipalities subordinate to the prefecture, one after the other, gathered together leading cadres at the district and commune level and, in the light of the Central Committee's relevant directives, examined them with respect to the problems of impure party spirit and incorrect party practices. The various counties also, taking the commune

as a unit, using the technique of having people attend party classes, and rotational training, educated grassroots-level cadres and party members in party spirit and party practices.

The experience of the Jinhua prefectural committee in carrying out education of party members in party spirit, party practices, and party discipline consisted of the following:

1. They began by stressing basic [party] education. The prefectural committee placed importance on re-educating party members in basic party knowledge, and conscientiously expounded on the party's nature, tasks, and fundamental aims. In the course of carrying out education in party spirit, they guided the party members to examine their personal standards and ability to play a leading role in the light of the standards appropriate to party members, examine their own revolutionary will and drive in the light of the pledge taken by party members, and examine their own political thinking and the shortcomings in their actions in the light of the manifestations of outstanding party members, in order to conscientiously rectify any incorrect practices.
2. They focused on solving the problem of maintaining political consistency with the Central Committee's policies. In the preceding period, some cadres were in ideological conflict with the policy of allowing responsibility for production to rest with the individual household. Aiming specifically at this circumstance, the various areas, in the course of their education in party spirit conscientiously organized cadres to study the relevant Central Committee documents, cleared up for them the problem of the ideological influence of "leftism," and resolved the ideological hang-ups of a good many party members and cadres. They said that going through this study was better than taking three doses of good medicine: The first was like taking a "tranquilizer," enabling one to accept the party's programs and policies ideologically, and having one's head cleared; the second was like taking a "grievance powder," dispelling misunderstandings and accumulated resentment; and the third was like eating a "tonic soup," enabling one to "go along with" policies ideologically, being stimulated to new vigor.
3. The party members and leading cadres launched into criticism and self-criticism. One deputy secretary of the Yinia County Committee had for a long time considered himself to be "consistently correct." Within the county committee organization, he would form people into small groups, rejecting others who differed with him, having a serious negative influence on the unity of the county committee's leading body. The county committee convened a meeting to conscientiously solve the problems existing among its leading body, carried out criticism of this deputy secretary, helping him and also allowing him to engage in self-criticism at a meeting of middle-level cadres. Through this launching of criticism and self-criticism, the situation regarding the unity of the Yinia County Committee's leading body was improved.
4. They upheld the [basic] principles, and were brave in upholding righteousness and dispelling evil. In the course of its education in party spirit, party practices, and party discipline, the prefectural committee proposed a

slogan that is very dear to people's hearts: support willingness to do hard work; criticize muddling along; deal with troublemaking; and punish evildoing. The prefectural committee engaged in public commendation of leading comrades with a strong party spirit and correct party practices who are positive in their willingness to do hard work, and criticized by name individual, problematical comrades who lacked sufficient understanding. Party members and cadres guilty of serious illegal actions and violations of party discipline were resolutely dealt with. The Dongyang County Committee dealt severely, one after the other, with seven party members and leading cadres who had built houses in a manner violating party discipline, while the masses clapped and cheered. At present throughout the prefecture [the prefectural committee] has fundamentally put a stop to the building of houses by leading cadres in violation of party discipline.

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CSO: 4005/1055

PARTY AND STATE

BEIJING MUNICIPAL CPC COMMITTEE PROMOTES IDEOLOGY

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 2 Sep 82 p 5

[Text] The Beijing Municipal CPC Committee Seizes on World View as Core in the Effective Instruction of Party Members--Education of Party Members with Communist Ideology.

Our correspondent Xiong Yongnian [3574 3057 1628] and our reporter Yin Qingyan [3009 1987 6056] report: The CPC Committee of Beijing Municipality launched a serious educational drive against ideological corrosion, taking in a clear-cut way communist ideology as topic of instruction of party members. This has raised the communist consciousness of the party members and initially created the gratifying situation of the whole party taking party building firmly in hand.

In June of this year the Beijing party committee, starting out from the need to stimulate the present struggle and strengthen party building, decided to carry out a one-time education among all party members throughout the municipality to counteract the corrosion by capitalist ideologies and to uphold communist ideology. In July an experimental start was made. The municipal party committee and the party committee of the various districts, counties and bureaux took in hand experimental work in 137 units. In August the education was launched on a comprehensive scale and at the end of the month 449,000 party members had participated in rotation, i.e., 68.8 per-cent of the total number of party members, and it is estimated that this educational drive will have been basically completed by the middle of September.

The special features of the present education to combat ideological corrosion as launched in Beijing municipality are:

Carrying out education in a target-oriented way of all party members on the significance of the anti-corrosion struggle and on the present economic policy of the party. This education is to firmly target on the world view as its core and emphasize communist ideology as the means of educating the members of the party. According to investigations preceding the instruction of the party members by rotation, a section of the party members entertained two foolish ideas: one was the idea that "the fight against ideological corrosion has nothing to do with me," and the other idea was that the country

was "opened up" to economic criminality by opening it up to the outside world, and that economic criminality was "brought to life" by enlivening domestic economic activities, stated in a complaining mood. The instruction in rotation at the various units used the method of presenting the facts and reasoning things out so that every party member was guided to the awareness: "The fight against ideological corrosion is an important event that has a bearing on the prosperity and decline, rise and fall, of party and state, and in this fight no party member can stand by with folded arms," and furthermore: "the corroding ideology of capitalism seizes every opportunity to intrude, so that every party member must heighten his vigilance and check the erroneous ideas at the outset." It also led party members to an understanding that "opening up the country to the outside world and enlivening the domestic economy are good policies that benefit the country and the people and are beneficial for a speedy realization of the four modernizations. Economic crimes are a manifestation of class struggle under the new conditions; they are not necessarily linked with the present economic policy of the party," and thus the resentment of these complaining party members was dispelled.

During the instruction by rotation the communist world view was in every instance made the focal point of the education. Attention was paid to the great goal of communism, to the faith in the revolution and to heart and soul service to the people. The problem was seen as one of raising the world view to a high level and not to take things as they stand. Through study, everybody came to understand that "communism is the inexorable trend of the historical development of mankind. It is certainly bound to come about and is not a vague phantom," "the faith in communism is the lifeblood of every communist party member, which he cannot shed under any circumstances," "only by keeping the great goal of communism firmly in mind, can the party member safely preserve his communist purity." There was an assistant section chief in a factory, who, during the education when he summed up his past mistakes, said with deep emotions: "Why did my ideology go downhill? Mainly because I lost my communist ideology and became lax in reforming my world view, so that capitalist thoughts could infiltrate the vacuum; I committed a mistake." There were also some new party members who had not yet acquired a firm communist world view and therefore paid all their attention to material benefits and not to the ideals. This time they received a one-time initiation into communist ideology which made them understand that a communist party member must struggle hard for communism throughout all his life.

Leading cadres personally attended the party classes and adopted effective measures to ensure a high quality of the instruction. Up to the present, as many as 370 party committee members of the municipality and departments and leading cadres of districts, counties and bureaux lectured at the basic level. To ensure the target-oriented nature of the party classes, many leading cadres repeatedly attended at the basic level to acquaint themselves with conditions, personally collected data and compiled outlines for the party classes. Their lectures at the party classes were therefore very substantial, explaining the profound in simple terms, with a strong emphasis on the target of the instructions, so that the education proved very effective. The Steel Rolling Mill No 3 had held study classes in the past but some party members

were unwilling to attend. This time when the leading cadres personally lectured at the party classes, all the party branches one after another demanded larger quotas of participants. It was originally planned to have the rotational instruction in six phases, but later all the rotational instruction was completed in only three phases.

Simultaneously with the party classes, many units also adopted a variety of other forms of education, such as exhibitions, discussion of experiences, organizing meetings to hear reports on the achievement of model party members, citing outstanding party members for lofty communist thinking, analyzing typical negative cases of degeneration and integrating theory with practice, so as to facilitate drawing lessons from these experiences. Many comrades, with deep understanding, spoke out: Why is it that certain party members can resist ideological corrosion and never become stained by it, while others will go the way of crime? Their world view is the key to the problem. Only if a communist world view has been firmly established, can the purity of a communist party member be forever maintained. If the great goal of communism is lost sight of, if all striving is directed toward enjoyment of pleasure and to make money, a person will easily slide into the capitalist quagmire. In every term, the study classes at the various units would convene meetings on organization activities, and, linking up with reality, launch criticism and self-criticism. They guided each party member to measure himself against the standard of a communist, to examine consciously his own ideology and rectify it, and to clarify the direction of his future efforts. The general party branch secretary Yan Yuchun [7051 3768 2D4] of the Shiliu brigade in the Fengtai district and the general branch committee member Xie Chengjin [6200 2052 0356] examined the problem of persons "going by the back door" to get jobs for their relatives in commune or brigade enterprises and initiated a proposal that these persons should immediately return back. They worked all night through and on the second day had the relatives that had been given jobs in this way return to their production brigades.

The Beijing municipal party committee engaged in the present educational drive with great determination, pushed it vigorously and in less than 2 months held seven meetings to receive reports, investigate and give directions. Many committee members paid great attention to this work, and the principal leading cadres personally set about the task of rotational instructions. Generally, the leading group of the party committees in the various units started off ahead and took the lead in launching criticism and self-criticism. The party members therefore showed great eagerness to study; their attitude was sincere and earnest, their study style correct, and they could therefore carry out criticism and self-criticism most effectively.

9808
CSO: 400 5/1305

PARTY AND STATE

INHIBITION, WASTE OF TALENT DEPLORED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 9 Jul 82 p 4

[Article by Lu Zupin [4151 4371 0756]: "Two Lessons Learned from Matters Relating to the Suppression of Talent"]

[Text] Our country's population is very large, but the amount of talent is definitely not large. Man is precious, but talent is more precious. Faults in our work in the past have created very great losses for our country. Everybody is comparatively concerned, and all are saddened, by the waste of material wealth. And yet, the greatest loss is still the waste and destruction of human talent. At present we place much more importance on the training and utilization of talent than previously, and yet matters concerning the suppression of talent are still heard of from time to time. One manifestation of the suppression of talent is not looking upon talented scientific and technical people or talented people in other areas as part of the precious wealth of the nation, but rather as something simply possessed by departments or units; and not allowing them to bring their abilities into full play within a broader scope and make a greater contribution.

According to a newspaper report, Huang Yuling, a woman engineer at Yunnan's Institute of Meteorological Science, in May of last year was compelled to commit suicide by throwing herself into the river. Chen Xiangzhen, an engineer in the research department of a certain plant associated with the Shanghai Municipal Bureau of Instruments and Meters did not have his talents utilized very well by the leadership of the plant, nor was he allowed to transfer, causing him a great deal of mental suffering. Why did these two engineers meet with this kind of treatment? The reason was that along with doing well at their own jobs they, either on invitation or on their own initiative, requested permission to participate in some scientific research activities within their own profession, and so were considered to be "lacking in organizational sentiment and lacking in discipline," "not attending to their proper profession," and "being supported by one person while secretly helping another," and because of this suffered groundless persecution and attack, even to the extent of bringing about painful tragedies! (For details see the May 10 issue of YUNNAN RIBAO and the June 19 issue of WEN HUI BAO).

These two engineers were both scientific and technical experts of new China who had grown up after liberation. Chen Xiangzhen had participated in the

development of our country's first generation of 20,000X electron microscopes and the textile industry's first electronic binding and processing machinery, and filled in the gaps for the development of our country's electron microscope testing equipment, the star plate. Within the plant, he was responsible for testing work on biological microscopes and electron microscopes. This is a new science, and its development requires the close cooperation and common efforts of a great many scientific and technical workers. Chen Xiangzhen's being able to go off on frequent trips to inspect optical equipment throughout the country is a need of the entire country's microscope industry. The research projects he is engaged in are all in the service of the entire nation's microscope industry, and in the service of building the four modernizations. How, then, can anyone say that he is "not attending to his proper profession," or say that he is "being supported by one person while secretly helping someone else"? If matters such as these, which are of advantage to the entire nation, are looked upon as "secretly helping someone else," then what kind of standpoint can people who speak such words have, and what kind of position have they elevated themselves to?

Aside from the work required by her own position, Huang Yuling also served as council member of the Yunnan Province Meteorological Society and chairman of that society's agricultural meteorology committee. She was very positive in her work, her professionalism was very strong, and she had been commended as an advanced worker. What mistake had she made, after all? Originally, Huang Yuling learned that the Agricultural Meteorology Research Society affiliated with the Chinese Agricultural Society was going to hold a large conference in Peking to mark its establishment. She longed to take part in this conference that was so intimately connected with her own specialty, in order to exchange experience with others in her own profession. She requested the conference's preparatory organization for permission, and they invited her to attend, and also cabled the Yunnan Province Meteorology Bureau, whose leadership at the time also granted her permission to attend. But the authorities' handling of the situation soon developed into "anarchy," so that even her traveling expenses were not even provided. Was this not deliberately making trouble for her.

The discovery and training of talent is extremely important, and the utilization of talent is equally important. People being able to "utilize their talents to the fullest degree" is one of the requisite conditions for the flourishing development of a nation. Having talent available and not being good at utilizing it amounts to the same thing as there not being any talent. A good leader must of necessity be good at discovering and utilizing talent. Whoever does not value and cherish talent cannot possibly be a good leader. As for the suppression, attacking, and destruction of human talent, it absolutely cannot be condoned. And the actions of some leaders of the Yunnan Province Institute of Meteorological Science in bringing about such a grave result should be dealt with severely. For the sake of the successful maturation of talent, it will not do to rely merely on Bo Le [0130 2867] (a good talent scout); one must also have a sound system, and devise relevant stipulations for each and every link from the discovery and training of talent to its utilization, in order to guarantee the continuous maturation and strengthening of the ranks of talented people.

9634

CSO: 4005/1055

PARTY AND STATE

CPPCC VISITING INSPECTION GROUP LEAVES HARBIN

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 12 Aug 82 p 1

[Article: "The National CPPCC Visiting Inspection Group Concludes Its Activities in Our Province and Returns to Beijing from Harbin--Leading Comrades of the Provincial Party Committee and the Provincial Government Listened to the Opinions of the Visiting Inspection Group"]

[Text] The National People's Political Consultative Conference Visiting Inspection Group fully concluded its inspection activities in our province and flew from Harbin back to Beijing on the evening of the 11th.

On the afternoon of the 9th, the visiting inspection group paid successive visits to leading provincial party and government agencies. Leading comrades of the province and the city such as Li Lian [2621 0500 1344], Chen Lei [7115 7191], Chen Junsheng [7115 0193 3932], Zhao Dezun [6392 1795 1415], Wang Yilun [3769 0001 1243], Lu Guang [4154 0342], Wang Caoli [3769 2347 3680], Wang Huacheng [3769 0553 2052], Zhang Ping [1728 1456], Wang Nong [3769 6593], and Ma Kaiyin [7456 7030 0603], met with all the members of the visiting inspection group. Li Lian, Chen Lei and the leader of the visiting inspection group, Lei Jieqiong [7191 3381 8825] gave speeches brimming with warmth. On the afternoon of the 10th, Wang Yilun, a provincial party committee secretary, Wang Luming [3769 6424 2494], a provincial party committee secretary and deputy governor of the province, and Wang Caoli, a deputy governor of the province, represented the provincial party committee and the provincial government in listening to the opinions of the visiting inspection group. Lei Jieqiong and other comrades of the visiting inspection group said that beautiful and richly endowed Heilongjiang Province had made a deep impression on them. It has made great contributions to socialist construction; since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, production construction and other tasks throughout the province have been extensively developed. The morale of the masses is high, social order is secure and the entire situation is good. The comrades of the visiting inspection group offered insightful opinions and suggestions concerning the development of outlying areas, the construction of water and electrical works, and the development of light industrial production. Comrades Wang Yilun and Wang Luming represented the provincial party committee and the provincial government in expressing humble acceptance and heartfelt appreciation of the valuable opinions and suggestions offered by the visiting group. They said that in the future they hoped to move continually forward in their work and strive to make greater contributions toward socialist modernization.

When the visiting inspection group left Harbin, they were seen off at the airport by leading comrades from the provincial party committee, the standing committee of the provincial people's congress, the provincial government, the provincial political consultative conference, the Harbin Municipal Party Committee, the standing committee of the municipal people's congress, the municipal government, the municipal political consultative conference and concerned departments, including Chen Junsheng, Wang Yilun, Lu Guang, Wang Zhaozhi [3769 5128 3112], Wang Caoli, Tang Liandi [0781 6647 4574], Guo Zhouchang [6753 1343 2490], Jin Langbai [6855 3186 4101], Wang Huacheng, Zhang Ping, Ma Kaiyin, Cao Huashan [2580 5478 1472], and Zhang Runsheng [1728 3387 3932].

9705

CSO: 4005/1287

PARTY AND STATE

EXAMPLES OF COMMUNIST IDEOLOGY, PRACTICE PRAISED

Worker's Example

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 3 Sep 82 p 8

[Article by Dong Feng [5516 2800]: "A Chat on Communist Ideology and Practice--Communism Is Exactly Where Your Job Is"]

[Text] Model CPC party member Comrade Zhao Chun'e [6392 2504 1230] was also one who used the common saying: "Little cart will never topple, just go on pushing it," as a motto to guide her in all her actions. This common saying is very popular in the Hebei-Shandong-Henan plains. It mainly signifies the frame of mind that once a matter is recognized as correct, one should advance courageously and work hard to bring it to conclusion. No matter whose talk might possibly confuse you, don't become undecided and wavering, hesitant and faltering in your resolution. Using the proud words of men of lofty ideals: "Righteousness allows no diversionary considerations." Originally, the implied meaning of the common saying had no connection with communism.

However, since the saying was used by several communist fighters, such as Yang Shuicai [2799 3055 2088] from Henan and Wang Guofu [3769 0948 4395] from Beijing to express their revolutionary sentiments and since the men gave this saying a meaning by their own glorious examples, the saying was elevated and became a motto which is cherished by communists. Recently, this phrase also came from the lips of Comrade Zhao Chun'e and was thus reinforced by the glorious figure of this communist of the new historical era, providing everyone with an even more vivid interpretation of the communist spiritual essence that it contains.

Through the figure of Comrade Zhao Chun'e we can now realize that this motto contains two deep meanings. One is that it vividly manifests her attitude toward the work on her job. She worked as a common worker in a coal yard, wielding a broom and a shovel and pushing a coal cart, but she used the "little cart" to bring coal to thousands of homes in a way that warmed their hearts. She died on 21 April 1982 at 5:05 am; she had not stopped pushing the "little cart" until midday of 20 April, up to the time that she fell over and blood spurted from her mouth. People noticed that no time had been left to her to wash off the coal dust from her head, hands and feet, and in her pocket were still the keys she had to use on duty and had had no time

yet to return before death overtook her. What a touching picture of working! Comrade Zhao Chun'e's "little cart" was pushed without letup to this very moment.

The second meaning of it is the vivid expression of Comrade Zhao Chun'e's loyal and steadfast attitude toward the cause of communism. She could not write and was not good at expressing herself in words, but there were "three thoughts in her mind": one was that everything must be done according to the norms of the party, the second was, to be a communist party member in name as well as in reality, and the third was to struggle for the communist cause up to the end. Her "struggle" was to allay the difficulties of the people through her dirty and exhausting work and care for the people at all times and in all she did, because she believed that doing her job well was "also making a contribution to socialism," was "adding a tile here and a brick there" to help build socialism, and was "paving the road" for communism. Comrade Zhao Chun'e linked each of her words and deeds with the advance of the socialist and communist cause. She was a person who, if she had not done something for socialism that day, would ask herself, "what did I live for"? She not only helped build socialism with her physical strength, but also propagated socialism at all times. This propaganda was of course not a mere talk of "socialism is good," but more importantly it was that with her diligent work of service she "made everyone aware of the benefits and warmth of socialism." She regarded the coal yard, where she worked, as the place where communist theory is transformed into practice. On her deathbed she breathed to her husband: "I love the coal yard, I can't leave the coal yard. After I die sprinkle my ashes over the coal yard, let me have a look at the coal...."

We must respect and honor Comrade Zhao Chun'e as a practitioner of communism and a communist ideologist of few words. It is she that linked communist theory so closely with practice and it is she that merged her own work with the communist movement. She was a model of a communist fighter for uniting theory and practice into one and for matching words with deeds. Comrade Zhao Chun'e used her own glorious self to elaborate for us a maxim: Communism is not a vague phantom, communism is where one's job is.

Teach by Example

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 2 Sep 82 p 8

[Article by Hua Jie [5478 2638]: "Chat on Communist Ideology and Practice-- There Is Also an Advantage in It"]

[Text] I have been extremely moved to see material on certain old comrades that moved back into second line, but continue their concern for the cause of the party and who, within their abilities, conscientiously continue to serve the people. Any comrade who is "moved back" from the first line, need not fret over having nothing to do, but should only worry about his willingness to do something. As long as there is willingness to do something, there is much opportunity. Some comrades, after being moved back from the first line, get the feeling of having lost everything they used to rely on and are filled

with high aspirations but have no objective for their energy. Actually, that is not the case. Looking at it from the angle of the individual concerned and the help he can give to party and people, the removal to the second line brings losses as well as gains, and being moved down to second line has even its particular advantages. For instance, if one would have had in mind to go deep into the masses to do some thorough investigation and research, but was always prevented from doing as one had wished owing to the preoccupation with many other duties, one can now use the advantage of being somewhat detached from other things, after having been moved back to second line, to make up for what had not been done due to the previous preoccupation with other things. After being placed into second line, to become adviser, to "give counsel and draw up plans," for the correct handling of certain problems could also make use of this new advantage by investigating and researching certain questions thoroughly and painstakingly, by consulting a larger circle of opinions and by gathering in hand an abundant quantity of first-hand materials. This would qualify a person even better than being in first line to have a say in the matter.

Furthermore, old comrades have yet another advantage or strong point compared with ordinary people. They have stayed in leadership positions for a long time, they are familiar with a number of people in various fields, they are well versed in the principles and policies of the party as well as in the laws and regulations of the government, an appeal from them will carry great weight with everyone, so that any problem to which they may apply themselves will be solved more easily. The old comrades can exercise quite some influence on the improvement of certain work, can serve as a bridge between the party and the masses and thus can help overcome bureaucratism, reduce subjectivism and promote changes in certain undertakings; these are advantages of particular importance. To live in retirement does not mean to slide off into oblivion, but is still a continuation of practical activities for the cause of communism. In a revolution there are no distinctions between greater and lesser authority and no distinction whether a man is in employment or out of office. Precisely in this point we communist party members differ from those salaried officials who do only what they are paid for or not even that. The masses fervently hope more old comrades, after being placed into second line, will become aware of the advantages and strong points and will employ them most effectively in order to achieve even greater merit for the benefit of the people.

At present these advantages are being recognized by a growing circle of old comrades. They consciously bring these advantages into full play and devote the strength that is left to them to service to the people. A certain deputy minister of communications, after retiring to second line, did not retire to a life of ease and comfort, but used every opportunity to make a penetrating investigation of bus stops and public buses. He had face to face talks with travelers, drivers, conductors and personnel at the bus stops, making contact with all of them. He gave special attention to comments in the books for travelers' remarks at two bus stops that had earlier been named Daqing-style enterprises and put forward specific measures to improve work by writing a lively and factual article full of vivid detail on the basis of his investigations: "Staff and Workers in Transportation Should Strive to be Vanguard

in Spreading Socialist Spiritual Civilization." If our old comrades who have retired to second line select a basic point, such as one factory, one school, one street, or one city block and attack a problem closely related with the masses or of concern to the masses, utilize their advantages as men in retirement and put forward some substantial and feasible measures for improvement, urge various quarters to realize them and see the matter through to the end, they will be doing very effective work. Would this not be a most realistic type of work? If the old comrades will teach by personal example and verbal instructions, all of our leading cadres at all levels will act according to their suggestions, and this will become a common practice. Bureaucratism and subjectivism will certainly be overcome, and there need be no concern for the future fundamental improvement in our party's work style and in the people's livelihood.

9808

CSO: 4005/1307

PARTY AND STATE

STRUGGLE TO MAINTAIN COMMUNIST PURITY PRESSED

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 13 Aug 82 p 3

[Article by Xia Li [1115 0500]: "Preserve the Communist Purity of Communist Party Members--Offering Excuses and Delaying Cannot Be Tolerated"]

[Text] In the midst of carrying out a provincewide investigation of serious crimes in the economic sector and of financial and economic regulations, two things have drawn the attention of people. One is major cases of smuggling and graft and embezzlement in violation of criminal law which, once they have been cracked by public security agencies, are quickly brought to court, tried and concluded; this exhilarates the masses who applaud happily. The other is the illegal instance of using authority to accept or elicit bribes, "taking people by the throat," making a profit dealing in foreign exchange on the black market, evading taxes, etc., which are often put aside indefinitely and never handled, affecting the enthusiasm of the broad party members and the masses. The reasons for the latter problem are: First, some comrades do not understand the importance of this struggle against corruption. They are afraid that they might offend people for no reason if their investigation turns nothing up, that it will be difficult to prove matters if leading comrades are implicated and that they will be chastised if policies are later to change. Because of this, they dare not take the offensive and attack. Secondly, the quality of the cadres chosen by some units to handle cases has not been high. They lack experience and know-how and have an inaccurate grasp of policies so they wait for higher levels to handle cases they can use as models and for the leaders at higher levels to clarify their attitudes. Thirdly, the leaders of some units do not take this matter seriously enough, are not supportive of this work and do not personally strengthen their leadership.

This sluggish and even equivocal attitude on the part of certain units induces many people to busy themselves seeking favors everywhere in an effort to avoid legal sanctions and punishment for breaking party regulations. This is especially true of certain cases in which, having been ignored for several months, large matters are diminished and small matters disappear. The result is that those who handle the cases become discouraged, those who violate the law are elated and the masses are embittered.

Of course, we absolutely cannot revive the "leftist" policies of forcing confessions and giving them credence, but we must not be frivolous about

upholding regulations. We must get results in this struggle involving the life and death of the party and in this revolution to force a decisive turn for the better in party style.

Presently, the party Central Committee and the provincial party committee have firmly resolved to do well in this struggle and rectification. Every party member and comrade in the revolution must fulfill his duty and responsibility and actively support this tremendous strategic policy, and contribute his efforts toward achieving total victory in this struggle.

9705

CSO: 4005/1287

PARTY AND STATE

CYL URGED TO HOLD HIGH BANNER OF COMMUNISM

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 28 Aug 82 p 1

[Editorial: "Move Forward Under the Banner of Communism"]

[Text] As the 13th CPC Congress is about to convene, the 7th Liaoning Provincial Communist Youth League Congress concluded. We offer our enthusiastic congratulations to the CYL members and young comrades doing battle on every front throughout the province.

The Communist Youth League is a tremendous school for educating the youth in communist ideology. From the day it was established, under the leadership of the party, it has made several decades of positive contributions to China's revolution and the task of socialist construction. After the smashing of the "gang of four," and especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the broad league members and youths of our province have worked hard to heal the wounds inflicted through 10 years of unrest and have vigorously thrown themselves into quelling chaos and restoring order and invigorating China. They have used the strength of youth to write a new chapter in the youth movement. The continuing emergence of heroic figures like Zhou Yuncheng [0719 0061 2052] and Fang Chengliang [2075 2052 5328] is indicative of our accomplishment in educating a generation of youths in communist ideology and expresses the basic nature and main trends of this generation of youths.

At present, our great motherland is embarking on the vital road of stable development. The task of the CYL in the new period is to educate and inspire China's new generation with communist ideology. Communism is mankind's most progressive ideological system. In the past, the present and the future, the banner of communism has been and will be the banner of the CYL, and communist ideology and spirit has been and will be the source of strength behind the growth and progress of our youth. In confronting views such as "communism is far off and indistinct" and "communism is a fantasy," the CYL as a close assistant of the party, should come boldly forward, bravely defend the banner of communism and be firm and clear in educating youths in communist ideology, forcefully guiding our youth and supporting communist elements. The entire body of CYL members and willing youths must certainly uphold the lofty revolutionary ideals and maintain a flourishing revolutionary fighting will, and must unswervingly move ahead toward the glorious goal of communism.

The key to holding high the banner of communism lies in combining the noble ideals with the spirit of doing solid work and in using the communist ideological system to guide and standardize our words and actions. Communism is a social system and is, at the same time, a revolutionary movement. This great communist movement began over 100 years ago with the birth of the "Communist Manifesto" and has progressed in practice ever since. Today, the new long march led by the party, to realize the four modernizations is a part of this communist movement, a concrete practice of communist ideology. Every CYL must put his total energy into the task of constructing the four modernizations, advocate a go for it all, selfless spirit, foster a communist style, and use the communist labor attitude in adding bricks and tiles to the mansion of communism. Each of the activities that have been launched by league organizations at every level, like "labor competition," "strive to be a guerrilla in the new long march," the "three love" education, "serve elders respectfully," "help deliver youths from darkness," and others have all been concrete practices of communist ideology, and we should continue them, seeing to it that they develop and expand. The resounding slogan "begin with me, begin now" expresses the common aspirations of this generation of youths. If only every one of us can make greater demands on himself, then we certainly can continue to overcome difficulties and to further the cause of communism.

Realizing communism will be a long historical process requiring the determined struggle of numerous generations. Our older generation of revolutionaries shed their blood in battle throughout their lives for this cause. We, this generation of youth, must receive the banner from the hands of the older generation, carry it on, contribute the fire of our youth to the beautiful cause of communism and let the banner of communism in our hands wave on high!

9705

CSO: 4005/1301

PARTY AND STATE

BRIEFS

ELECTION OF COMMITTEE MEMBERS--The 7th Liaoning Provincial Communist Youth League Congress held its first full session on the afternoon of 27 August. The session elected the standing committee for the congress. The standing committee is composed of 10 members. Wang Julu [3769 1565 4389] was elected secretary and Qu Yong [4234 0516], Zhang Mingqi [1728 7686 1477] and Chun Lin [2504 2651] were elected deputy secretaries. [Text] [Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 28 Aug 82 p 1] 9705

DEPARTURE FOR PARTY CONGRESS--Our province has 51 delegates and 4 alternates attending the 12th National CPC Congress. Forty-four representatives, with the exception of those already in Beijing or those who are detained by other matters, led by Guo Feng [6753 1496], the first secretary of the provincial party committee and the provisional representative convener, left Shenyang yesterday afternoon at 2 pm in a special flight to Beijing. Representatives of Shenyang troops came to see them off. In the Liaoning delegation, there are old party members who entered the revolution during the land reform battles, the war of resistance to Japan and the war of liberation, and young party members who entered the party after the establishment of the nation. There are intellectual party members who have achieved great things on the science and technology and education fronts and worker, peasant and shop employee party members who are struggling in the first line of the four modernizations construction. Also there are Manchu, Mongol, Muslim, Korean and other minority party member representatives and female party member representatives. The representatives said that they would not prove unworthy of the trust shown them by the party members throughout the province or of the ardent expectations of the masses. They would participate actively at the congress, would study documents well, would bring the spirit of the congress back with them and would make greater contributions to developing further a new situation in work in Liaoning. [Text] [Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 28 Aug 82 p 1] 9705

CSO: 4005/1301

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

BUILDING OF ARMED FORCES UNDER NEW PARTY LEADERS STRESSED

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 19 Sep 82 p 1

[Article by Guang Xin [1684 2450]: "Guangzhou Armed Forces Held Large Meeting To Publicize the Spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress: Do a Good Job of Armed Forces Construction Under the New Party Central Committee; Commander Wu Kehua [0702 0344 5478] and Political Commissar Wang Meng [3769 3718] Gave Talks, Pointing Up Great Expectations for the Party, Great Expectations for Modernization Construction, and Great Expectations for Armed Forces Construction"]

[Text] After participating at the 12th CPC National Congress, the Guangzhou armed forces representatives, upon their return, have adopted many ways to conscientiously transmit, publicize, and thoroughly carry out the spirit of the 12th National Congress, and this has given great encouragement to the cadres and soldiers at the southern gateway of our fatherland.

As soon as Commander Wu Kehua [0702 0344 5478] and Political Commissar Wang Meng [3769 3718], both representatives to the 12th National Congress, returned to Guangzhou on 15 September, they immediately talked at length with the involved leadership in the forces and in organizations concerning the great significance of the congress and studied with them ideas on how to learn, transmit, and thoroughly carry out the spirit of the congress.

Yesterday afternoon, the Guangzhou armed forces solemnly held a large meeting to pass on the spirit of the 12th National Congress. Participating in the meeting were responsible comrades of the Guangzhou armed forces and their leadership organizations and military academies and schools as well as retired veteran comrades, and cadres of the armed forces organizations. More than 1,000 people took part.

After first telling the meeting about the grand occasion of the 12th National Congress Comrade Wang Meng said that it was a united congress and was a congress that revealed the unlimited vitality of the party. The various program documents produced by the 12th National Congress fully reflect the basic desires of the entire party, armed forces, and various nationalities in the country. Through this representative congress, the guiding ideology of our party for the modernization construction of socialism has become more clearly defined, and the construction of the party will be able to better meet the needs of the new historical period.

With intense emotion, Comrade Wang Meng said the 12th National Congress has established our party more firmly on the road of Marxist ideology. The co-operation between new and veteran cadres and replacement of veteran cadres with new cadres were accomplished by the congress, and a great and unprecedented unification of the party was achieved. We have great expectations for our party. The congress summarized the positive and negative experiences of our socialist revolution and construction over more than 20 years and presented action programs with grand goals that meet the conditions of our country. We have great expectations for our socialist modernization. Comrade Deng Xiaoping was elected chairman of the Central Military Commission. At the helm, leading our army, we have a group of proletarian revolutionaries who have long gone through trials. We have great expectations that our troops will be built into a modern, standardized revolutionary army.

At the meeting, Comrade Wu Kehua conveyed the talk given by Comrade Hu Yaobang at the First Plenary Session of the 12th National Congress, the talk by Comrade Deng Xiaoping at the first plenary session of the Central Advisory Commission, and the talk by Comrade Chen Yun at the first plenary session of the central Commission for Inspection of Discipline, as well as the important talks by Comrades Ye Jiangying and Nie Rongzhen when they received the representatives of the Liberation Army. He said that the new leadership organizations produced by the 12th National Congress not only have highly respected and experienced proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation but also have a large group of young and middle-aged cadres who are in their prime and have both ability and political integrity. This fully reflects the fact that the party is developed and that it is flourishing with large numbers of people with talent. It fully reflects the fact that the Party Central Committee is full of vigor and vitality, and that it is a leadership group that enjoys popular confidence and a strong command headquarter deeply trusted and depended upon by the entire party, army, and nationalities in the country. Our large numbers of battle commanders are determined to support the New Party Central Committee. We must properly construct the armed forces according to the spirit of the 12th National Congress.

Representatives to the 12th National Congress from the Guangzhou armed forces have also busily traveled deep into the basic-level units and the frontlines of border defenses day after day in order to report to the large numbers of cadres, fighters, staff members and workers, and their families on the grand occasion and the great significance of the 12th National Congress, and to have the spirit of the congress become deeply imbedded in the hearts of the people. As soon as he arrived back at his frontline of border defenses, Li Quocheng [2621 0155 2052], combat hero and representative to the congress, reported immediately to the party committee and battle commanders on his reaction and determination as a result of attending the grand congress. He told them that the fact that a young comrade like himself was able to sit down with many veteran revolutionaries and discuss matters of importance to the entire party fully reflects the ardent expectations of the party for the younger generation and its loving concern for the border defense soldiers. He spoke of his determination to defend the southern border of his fatherland with his fighting comrades so that the people may devote themselves to

construction tasks with one mind and one thought. With feelings of extreme emotion, Lu Wenxi [4151 2429 2450], a representative to the congress and a political commissar of a unit, relayed the general situation of the congress to old Red Army soldiers and old Eighth Route Army soldiers stationed in the local old cadre home [suo] and to cadres of the military academies and schools as soon as he returned. He spoke glowingly of the new Party Central Committee leadership elected at the congress and the great significance of cooperation and replacement between new and old which has raised the people's confidence many times over.

Through conscientious learning, and after hearing the spirit of the 12th National Congress, the large number of combat commanders one after another expressed their view that ideology and action must be united with the spirit of the 12th National Congress, and that they must unite closely around the new Party Central Committee and struggle vigorously to build new conditions for the development of the armed forces!

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CSO: 4005/4

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

KUOMINTANG AGENTS ACCORDED LENIENT TREATMENT

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 9 Sep 82 p 3

[Article: "A Taiwan Kuomintang Espionage Vessel and Two Special Agents Received Lenient Treatment and Have Been Released by Our Public Security Organization"]

[Text] With higher level approval, the Shantou Prefecture public security organization recently released a Taiwan fishing vessel controlled by the Kuomintang espionage organization. Agents Yan Chengben [7346 2052 2609] and Yan Yisheng [7346 1105 3932], who were on the vessel, also received lenient treatment and returned to Taiwan with the five sailors on the vessel. The espionage vessel and the two special agents sneaked into our coastal area in Chaoyang County on 25 July this year to engage in destructive activities and were captured immediately.

Ignoring the fervent desire of the various nationalities of the entire country for the peaceful unification of the fatherland, the Taiwan Kuomintang espionage organization has continued to persist with various subversive and destructive activities against the fatherland in the past year. The "Shengfacheng No 2" fishing vessel captured by us was controlled and operated by the Penghu Work Group of the Taiwan Kuomintang Bureau of Intelligence.

As pointed out by the responsible person of the Shantou Prefecture public security organization, the above-described espionage activities conducted by Yan Chengben and Yan Yisheng were damaging to the nation's safety and violated criminal law. They should have been punished according to the law. However, recognizing that their activities were entirely the result of threats and promise of gains by the Taiwan Kuomintang espionage organization, and that their attitude toward their guilt was relatively good, it was decided that they would be treated leniently and released after education. The "Shengfacheng No 2" vessel and its five sailors were also released to return to Taiwan together. This act again reflected our sincerity for the peaceful unification of the fatherland. It is hoped that the Kuomintang espionage organization will consider the benefits of the country and the people, change its course of action, and cease to engage in destructive activities against the mainland.

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CSO: 4005/4

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

YOUNG CADRES ASSUMING LEADERSHIP POSTS

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 18 Sep 82 p 1

[Article by Wang Jining [3769 1015 1380], Lu Zhaotian [7120 2507 1131], and Chen Qiang [7115 1730]: "For the Sake of the Party Cause, Veteran Cadres of a Division of the Guangzhou Armed Forces Support Young Cadres in Assuming Leadership Posts"]

[Text] While learning the spirit of documents from the 12th National Congress, a party committee member of a division of the Guangzhou armed forces has reflected on the changes brought about by a group of young cadres who assumed leadership posts in the division and has complimented the veteran cadres for their noble character and style in their enthusiastic support of the young cadres.

In coordinating the construction of the armed forces since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC National Congress, the division's party committee felt deeply that in order to accelerate the revolutionary and modernization construction of the armed forces, the problem of the leadership group's "aging" urgently required solution, and fine young cadres had to be selected to assume division and regimental leadership posts. They overcame the old idea of experience and generation discrimination and selected a group of young cadres for positive recommendation to higher level. After more than 2 years, young cadres now account for 87 percent of the division and regimental leadership groups. During this period, nine division leadership cadres of relatively older age have moved to the second line or retired, while five comrades less than 40 years old have joined the division leadership group.

The veteran cadres who have stepped out of the leadership posts possess the broadmindedness of the proletariat. They treat the party cause as an important consideration and sincerely and earnestly support the move of young cadres to assume leadership posts. Since his retirement was approved by the higher level, Deputy Political Commissar Gong Mingtang [1362 2429 1016], who was deputy chairman of the Political Department when Gong Mingtang was deputy political commissar, took over as the division's political commissar, Gong Mingtang voluntarily briefed him on the ability and integrity of the division and regimental cadres and accompanied him to talk to regimental commanders and political commissars. When Political Commissar Wang Guowei ran into

difficulties in his work, Gong Mingtang voluntarily offered his ideas and encouraged him to persist with the principles and carry out his work courageously.

Instead of demanding perfection from the young cadres and placing blame on them, the veteran cadres of the division actually helped them enthusiastically [to overcome] their shortcomings. Qi Yunxi [4359 6663 1585], a regimental political commissar, is 36 years old. After his promotion in 1980 from a section chief in the division organization to regimental political commissar, he was not sufficiently familiar with the basic-level work. A number of division leadership cadres have helped him voluntarily. As a result, the mental outlook of the cadres and soldiers of the entire regiment has changed completely. Qi Yunxi said with deep emotion: "When you have veteran comrades to show the way, the confidence in opening up a new situation becomes even greater."

Since the group of young cadres in the division moved on to division and regimental leadership posts with the warm support of the veteran cadres, they have been full of vitality and energy in digging into their work and have brought about a new change in the outlook of the armed forces. Since the Third Plenary Session, the results of military training in the division have improved each year, and on-duty, construction, and production tasks have all been completed in a relatively outstanding manner. The armed forces are showing a full-steam-ahead approach.

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CSO: 4005/4

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

QUALITY OF STUDENTS IN CLASS OF 1981 ANALYZED

Beijing GAO JIAO ZHANXIAN [HIGHER EDUCATION FRONT] in Chinese No 3, Mar 1982 pp 9-10

[Article by Education Bureau of National Defense Industrial Colleges and Schools: "An Analysis of the Quality of Students in the Class of 1981 in National Defense Industrial Colleges and Schools"]

[Text] Since last year National Defense Industrial Colleges and Schools have joined forces to conduct conscientious investigations and studies into the quality of students in the class of 1981. By integrating and analyzing existing data, the quality of students in the class of 1981 can generally be seen to be relatively high. They have been through 4 years of training and discipline in school. Their political thought and professional competence have been greatly improved. The majority of them are in good physical health. Their professional qualifications are basically equivalent to or approach the level of graduates 5 years prior to the "Great Cultural Revolution." In certain areas such as engineering mathematics, computer application and foreign languages, they are even somewhat superior. However, due to certain subjective and objective limitations, there are still some areas that are not ideal. Certain problems still exist that need to be resolved. Below is a summary of the basic conditions and major problems.

In 1977, after institutions of higher learning began to restore a uniform enrollment system, seven of the National Defense Industrial Colleges and Schools enrolled new students. At present there is a total of 4,546 graduates. Upon entering college 16.6 percent of the total number of graduates were graduates from senior middle schools and 83.4 percent were workers, peasants and soldiers or unemployed school graduates. Their average age is approximately 25.5 years old.

(1) The State of Political Thought

The majority of graduates have upheld the four fundamental principles and the line, principles and policies of the party since the third plenary session. Among the students in the class of 1981 in Harbin Industrial College, 50 percent have already joined the party or applied to join the party. Some of the students in the class of 1981 in Beijing Aeronautical

Engineering College used their vacation to do social investigations in order to better their understanding of party policies. In addition, they wrote investigation reports using precise figures and concrete examples. They propagandized the fine state of the party's rural economic policies and the agricultural battlefield.

The academic goals of a large number of students are clear and their attitudes toward study are correct. They have a sense of responsibility and concern for doing their part for the establishment of the four modernizations in China. Their academic awareness is high and they make good use of time. They study problems intensively and yearn to soon become capable Red and expert workers in construction and to make a contribution to the socialist construction of our nation. In every school there have emerged a group of students with good character and scholarship.

In various areas such as fostering the practice of communist morality, observing organizational discipline, establishing a spiritual civilization and launching work in society, many students have displayed a high level of political enthusiasm. They have played a key and leading role through their actions.

Although the behavior of this year's graduates is generally good and their chief tendencies are sound, nevertheless, there are a handful of students (about one-tenth) who still have muddled ideas in their ideological understanding. This is due to the influence of negative elements in society. Quite a few students have no interest in political studies or political activities. Some even have feelings of "disgust."

As for the problem of waiting for job assignments upon graduation, after each college and school launched various forms of graduate education, the majority of graduates were able to adopt a correct attitude. They expressed a willingness to follow state assignments and go to where the motherland needed them most. However, among certain graduates there truly existed some practical difficulties. They also had ideas such as: a reluctance to leave urban areas or unwillingness to go to remote regions and demanding a return to their native province and city.

(2) The State of Professional Studies

The class of 1981 had all undergone strict literacy tests before entering school and the cream of the crop were chosen from the candidates. In addition, they had all gone through several years of social practice. Consequently, after entering school they had a definite capacity for self-education. At the same time each college and school has provided a fairly strong force of qualified teachers on the teaching forefront. Thus the students' professional competence is good and in certain areas it is not inferior to the level of graduates 5 years prior to the "Great Cultural Revolution."

Their study and understanding of basic theoretical knowledge is relatively strong. In each college they have summed up past experiences and lessons according to the needs of modern scientific and technical developments. They have also referred to experiences outside China and have generally recognized that in the past, due to insufficient emphasis on basic theoretical construction, graduates before the "Great Cultural Revolution" felt that "stamina was insufficient" in practical work. Graduates who were trained during the "great Cultural Revolution" have an even poorer foundation. In order to change this phenomenon, each college must do whatever they can to increase the proportion of time spent on theoretical instruction in the syllabus of the class of 1981. At the same time they must replace certain instruction materials and design new courses and electives. For example, when comparing the course plans at Beijing Aeronautical Engineering College and Nanjing Aeronautical Engineering College to those before the "Great Cultural Revolution," the time allotted to theoretical instruction for the class of 1967 was 152 weeks which constituted 59 percent of the college's total academic schedule of 256 weeks. However, the total amount of time devoted to the theoretical instruction of the class of 1981 was 128 weeks which constituted 64 percent of the total academic schedule of 201 weeks. At Beijing Industrial University, levels 4, 5, 6 and 7 already offer 27 elective courses. The majority of students choose two or three. Each college has reported that the basic knowledge of students in the class of 1981 is relatively reliable, their basic concepts are clear and the examination results are, for the most part, excellent. Compared to before the "Great Cultural Revolution," the mathematical foundation of the class of 1981 is noticeably stronger.

They have all studied "computer principles and application," "algorithmic language" and other courses. They have also had practice in using computers. In related follow-up courses, course projects and graduation projects, they have continued further to improve and apply themselves.

Results in foreign language studies have been fairly good. The majority have met the demands of the 1962 national uniform teaching program. According to several college investigations, most students can master a vocabulary of about 1,500. A few can master approximately 3,000. The majority can translate English into Chinese at a rate of over 1,000 printed symbols per hour. For example, in Huandong Engineering College when the class of 1981 completed their basic English course, 97.4 percent could do written translations of 1,000 printed symbols per hour, 30 percent could translate 1,300 printed symbols per hour, 15.6 percent could translate 1,500 printed symbols per hour and 5 percent could translate 2,000 printed symbols per hour. Almost onehalf of the students can read foreign language specialized textbooks.

A widespread weakness among the students in the class of 1981 is their poor ability in doing experiments. Most of the facilities for carrying out experiments are at the level of the 1950's. There have been few replacements in the last 20 years. During the decade of unrest some laboratories were seriously damaged. Colleges did not pay much attention to instruction on experimentation. Furthermore, the number of laboratory technicians was

inadequate, standards were low and the number of class hours devoted to instruction on carrying out experiments was greatly reduced. Thus many experiments that should have been done were not. For instance, at Nanjing Aeronautical Engineering College they should have started on 539 experimental projects. Of these only 54 percent or 294 experimental projects have been started. The number of class hours spent on experiments decreased from 240 with the class of 1967 to 127 with the class of 1981, a 50 percent reduction. Prior to the "Cultural Revolution" the Changchun Optics and Precision Instruments College launched 16 intermediate level physics experiments while the class of 1981 did only 4. Due to the fact that the number and quality of experiments has decreased, the training of students in the class of 1981 in experiment techniques has been greatly affected. Generally speaking, the students are inferior to the level of students prior to the "Cultural Revolution."

Their engineering skills are also somewhat inferior. In comparison with undergraduates before the "Cultural Revolution," the class of 1981 has had fewer class hours in practical instruction and basic engineering training. Arrangements for students to go to plants outside the school for fieldwork met with all kinds of difficulties such as housing shortages and high fees. This, consequently, led to a lack of knowledge concerning engineering technology and a poor ability to deal with engineering problems among students in the class of 1981. For example, in the teaching plans of Nanjing Aeronautical Engineering College the class hours for student teaching, production practice and graduation fieldwork as well as for specialized labor decreased from 27 weeks with the class of 1967 to 9 weeks with the class of 1981, a decrease of $2/3$. The number of class hours for course projects and graduation projects decreased from 842 hours for students in the class of 1967 to 360 hours for students in the class of 1981, a decrease of $3/5$.

(3) The State of Physical Health

Each college is constantly strengthening their leadership and improving their administration in various areas such as sports activities, diet and environmental sanitation. Because of this, the majority of graduates are currently in good health. They can meet the demands of normal work. For example, at Beijing Industrial University 55 percent of students in the class of 1981 have met the standards for national physical training. Students in the class of 1981 at Huadong Engineering College have all been evaluated and all met the demands of the physical education program. However, a small number of students are in worse shape than when they began college. This primarily manifests itself in the large number of nearsighted students. The number of people who suffer from neurasthenia and other chronic illnesses has also increased as compared to the number of entering students. This is mainly due to the heavy academic load and the fact that they don't pay sufficient attention to striking a good balance between work and rest. It is also due to poor lighting in classrooms and the decline in nutrition as compared to before the "Cultural Revolution." Colleges and schools have all begun to work on solving these problems.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

LITERARY CONTROVERSY OVER RESTUDY OF MAO'S 'YAN AN TALKS' NOTED

Support for 'Explication'

Beijing SHIDAI DE BAOGAO [REPORT OF THE TIMES] in Chinese No 7, 1982, Jul 82
pp 90-96

[Editorial compilation of articles on rise of controversy: "Republication of 'This Journal's Explication' for Appraisal by Readers"]

[Text] This year is the 40th anniversary of the publication of Comrade Mao Zedong's "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art." In response to the needs of the vast ranks of our readers, in February this year, this journal established a special column on "Restudying the 'Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art,' with 'This Journal's Explication' attached. Since its establishment, this column has been blessed by the favor of personalities in literary and art circles who have come forward to contribute their marvelous articles to it, and it has thus also been highly welcomed by our readers. Unexpectedly, in May this year WEN YI BAO [JOURNAL OF LITERATURE] published a signed article under the title "A Noteworthy Question of Principle," which expresses disapproval of the statement "during the 16 years since the 'cultural revolution'" in "This Journal's Explication," alleging that "the designation of the 16 years is a fresh, strange proposition," "tantamount to eradicating the significance of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee as a great turning point in the history of the party and the state." We are deeply puzzled as to why WEN YI BAO chose to attach to us such a frightening label. In order to enable the vast ranks of our readers, especially those readers who are not aware of the truth, to understand our situation, we hereby republish "This Journal's Explication" to make it possible for all of us to examine together and discuss together; it is hoped that our readers will thus favor us with their perception of the right and wrong involved therein.

--The Editors

The original text of "This Journal's Explication": The "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art" authored by Comrade Mao Zedong in 1942 has now been published for nearly 40 years. This is an important key document in Marxist literary theory and literary science after Comrade

Lenin's "On Party Organization and Party Literature." During the past 40 years, it has guided our literature and art to inherit and give scope to Lu Xun's revolutionary tradition and further unite with the workers, peasants, and soldiers; it has played a tremendous role in helping the masses of the people to propel history forward. Practice has time and again proved that the "Talks" is still a bright lamp illuminating the path of our socialist literature and art.

However, during the 16 years since the "cultural revolution" the "Talks" has also been subject to distortion or tampering by the "Left" and the Right. Counterrevolutionaries of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques have, by their extreme leftist means, transformed the people's literature and art which serve the workers, peasants and soldiers into a literature and art which serve the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing antiparty cliques' sinister plot to usurp the party and seize power. After the smashing the "gang of four," some people, on the other hand, have sought to break the "Talks" as conventions; as a result, they could not but get themselves bogged down in the mudpit of bourgeois liberalization. Despite the fact that individual propositions in the "Talks" are arousing all kinds of discussions today, the facts during the past 16 years also indicate both positively and negatively that the fundamental principles of the "Talks" are entirely correct. Of course, the "Talks" also requires development under new conditions. But such development must be based on its fundamental principles and definitely not on a negation of the violation of those fundamental principles.

In view of this situation, we hold that in the process of implementing the "Resolution" passed by the Sixth Plenary Session in the 11th Party Central Committee, there is a great necessity to restudy and review the "Talks." For this reason, this journal has elected to establish a special column on "Restudying the 'Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art,'" beginning with its current issue, in order to publish in a series of articles on the study of the "Talks." We hope in this process of restudy to be able to explore certain questions or correct certain mistaken understandings in order to help our literature and art develop along the correct path pointed out by the "Talks" in a healthy way.

[Letter and critique: "A Strange Article Playing on Sophistry--Our Views on WEN YI BAO's Article on 'Principle'"]

Comrade Editor:

In its May issue this year, WEN YI BAO published an article signed by one Yu Dong [7183 2639] entitled "A Noteworthy Question of Principle" (hereafter

briefly cited as "Principle"), which chose to express disapproval of a group of articles on "Restudying the 'Talks'" published in this year's February issue of SHIDAI DE BAOGAO and the attached "This Journal's Explication." Between the two of us, and between some comrades close to us, we have exchanged some opinions and come to believe that the reproach by WEN YI BAO is entirely groundless. We are sending to you our views in a summary statement and we hope you can publish it.

1. The "Principle" article in WEN YI BAO does not carry out observation and analysis by the Marxist method but engages in paradoxical argument by sophistry. That is, in terms of thinking method it does not seek to master questions objectively through the interconnections of things but proceeds from subjective imagination by citing partial statements and isolated words at random and thereby providing inference and expansion, thus confusing right from wrong. On this point, all those who are clear thinking can see very clearly.

For instance, in "This Journal's Explication" by SHIDAI DE BAOGAO there are two basic propositions: first, restudy the "Talks"; and second, the fundamental principles of the "Talks" still constitute a bright lamp illuminating our socialist literature and art today. the "Talks" also requires development under new conditions, but such development must be based on its fundamental principles.

The "Principle" article shuns any mention of these two propositions; on the contrary, it chooses to take the designation "the 16 years," which constitutes no proposition whatsoever, as a "fresh, strange proposition" and on that basis expresses disapproval: "Why has this special concept of 'the 16 years' been created?" Furthermore, it goes on to speculate, alleging that this is "tantamount to eradicating the significance of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee as a great turning point in the history of the party and the state."

For the sake of making the question clear, we might as well do some analysis. Regarding the so-called "16 years," the original words of "This Journal's Explication" are as follows: "During the 16 years since the 'cultural revolution'...." We all know that it has been 16 years from the beginning of the "cultural revolution" up to this day. Very clearly this statement stipulates the time elapsed between the beginning of the "cultural revolution" and now. That is to say, "the 16 years" in this statement constitutes merely a time concept and not any question of a proposition. Just as in the "Resolution" of the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, while "during the 32 years since the founding of our state" is mentioned, we cannot take "the 32 years" as a proposition but only as a time concept.

If, in mentioning "the 32 years" the "Resolution" of the Sixth Plenary Session did not suggest "eradicating the significance of the third Plenary Session as a great turning point...", then why should the mention of "the 16 years" in "This Journal's Explication" be "eradicating the significance of the Third Plenary Session as a great turning point..."?

When I talked with a comrade, he said: talking about "the 16 years" presents no problem; it constitutes still less any "queue." What WEN YI BAO has grabbed

is a queue which does not constitute a queue, and it even resorts to excessive speculation; this is totally groundless. Another friend who happened to have read issue No 7 of WEN YI BAO's internal publication WENYI QINGKUANG [STATE OF OUR LITERATURE AND ART] was very angry; when he corresponded with us, he said: "At the beginning of this month I received issue No 7 of WEN YI BAO's internal publication WENYI QINGKUANG and read the 'Principle' article right away. I think that article seeks merely to find fault and make trouble for nothing...."

We think that the Third Plenary Session wanted us to study new situations and solve new problems, and "This Journal's Explication" proposed "Restudying the 'Talks'" in response to the new conditions and new problems that have taken shape in our literary and art circles during the 16 years; this not only does not constitute any violation of the spirit of the third Plenary Session but is precisely an implementation of that spirit. SHIDAI DE BAOGAO started as early as February this year to explore the problems during the 16 years and put forward the question of "Restudying the 'Talks'" and adhering and developing the "Talks"; we think this approach constitutes seeking truth from facts and is correct. It may be said that SHIDAI DE BAOGAO has done very well in taking the lead in this regard. Today, not a few central and local newspapers and journals, as well as people's broadcasting stations, have likewise proposed "Restudying the 'Talks'" and adhering to and developing the "Talks." This is where the trend directs; it cannot be obstructed even if WEN YI BAO wishes to obstruct it.

2. "This Journal's Explication" by SHIDAI DE BAOGAO says: "Some people" "take the 'Talks' as conventions to break, but in the end they cannot but get themselves bogged down in the mudpit of bourgeois liberalization." It should be pointed out that it has been an undeniable fact that "some people" sought to break the "Talks" and resort to liberalization." But "Principle" deliberately expands "some people" into the entire "literary and art circles" and thereby expands this explication into a "denial" of the "tremendous achievements" of literary and art circles; and it alleges that the explication has "confused" the "fundamental boundaries between the two historical periods before and after the Third Plenary Session" and broached the two historical periods "in the same vein"; etc. Such "expansion" and "inference" are indeed unprecedented strange happenings.

Such an act of expanding "the individual" to "the whole" and thereby attaching a criminal label to others has been committed in the past. In 1922, for instance, because Mr. Hu wrote in his poem "a monk regrets having left this world," he was accused of "slandering all monks in the world." Lu Xun pointed out in his "Opposing Critics 'With Tears in Their Eyes'": "Citing the majority as a threat is a loss of the appropriate critical attitude. In reality, a monk regretting having left this world is by no means a strange thing; it would be extraordinary if none of the monks in the world ever regretted having left this world."

Although "This Journal's Explication" by SHIDAI DE BAOGAO does not just talk about "a monk," it most certainly talks only about a very small minority. Obviously, a very few people cannot represent all literary and art circles, nor can they represent the historical period after the Third Plenary Session.

Therefore, pointing out their problems cannot possibly be the same as denying the "tremendous achievements" of literary and art circles, nor as confusing the "fundamental boundaries" between the two historical periods before and after the Third Plenary Session. If so, how can anyone talk about talking about the two periods "in the same vein"?! This shows that the allegations about the "tremendous achievements" of literary and art circles having been denied and the "fundamental boundaries" between the two historical periods before and after the Third Plenary Session having been confused are nothing but trumped-up attacks embellished with sophistry. Yet, "Principle" says that pointing out "some people" resorting to bourgeois liberalization does "not accord with the historical facts." Well, let us then look at the historical facts. Not to mention others, at the 1981 forum on the ideological front alone did not Comrade Qiaomu's speech list "Unrequited Love" as a representative work of bourgeois liberalization? Let us ask: can this be said to be not in accord with the historical facts?!

As for "ideological reform," "Principle" even adopts an attitude of opposition. It suggests that the intellectuals have already become part of the working class; to mention "ideological reform" again would be against the spirit of the central authorities. We think the central authorities do not have any spirit averse to the ideological reform of the intellectuals; on the contrary, since the Third Plenary Session, the Central Committee has repeatedly stressed paying attention to carrying out our ideological and political work. Most recently, when Comrade Chen Yun's article "On the Two Tendencies on the Part of the Party's Literary and Art Workers" was published, the CPC Central Propaganda Department added an editorial comment to point out: "To reform and elevate ourselves to become literary and art workers truly in accordance with party member standards: this is the immediate and long-term fundamental task of all party members engaged in literary and art work." As for nonparty literary and art workers, they too must learn the example of Lu Xun in continuing to make progress in struggle. This shows that the central authorities have no thought of not wanting intellectuals to undergo "ideological reform"; what they refrain from doing is only resorting to movements or suggesting slogans. We believe that all intellectuals who really wish to make progress will not oppose ideological reform on a freely conscious and willing basis. Of course, persecuting people under the pretext of ideological reform should be opposed.

3. Upon finishing reading "Principle," we are very disappointed. The whole article merely cites one or two statements, twists or expands them at random, and groundlessly alleges sensational crimes. It should be pointed out that this runs completely counter to the ideological line of the Third Plenary Session of seeking truth from facts. Furthermore, "Principle" talks nominally about learning from the "Talks" but actually concentrates on expressing disapproval of the articles in "This Journal's Explication" by SHIDAI DE BAOGAO relating to "Restudying the 'Talks.'" Worse still, it sets aside the study of the fundamental principles of the "Talks" and relishes talking about revising the "Talks." And it rattles on about things such as: "When the newest edition is compared to the earliest edition, several dozen fairly important revisions can be found." "Principle" neither mentions adherence to the fundamental principles of the "Talks" nor talks about development based on the fundamental principles of the "Talks," but single-mindedly stresses revision. Let us just

ask: with such revisions going on and on, can it be said that adherence to the fundamental principles of the "Talks" is still possible?!

At a time when the 40th anniversary of the publication of the "Talks" is at hand, WEN YI BAO actually chooses to publish such a strange article as "Principle"; this is really "a noteworthy question of principle." We believe that WEN YI BAO's attitude in the past few years on dealing with the bourgeois liberalization question warrants study. In publishing such a strange article as "Principle," they intend, of course, to speak as if they are good fellows who have always been correct on the one hand and, on the other hand, they may not be said to have no other intention. Because strange conduct out of the ordinary on their part cannot be interpreted according to ordinary reasoning.

If you do not believe this, please note the following fact:

After SHIDAI DE BAOGAO put forward the idea of "Restudying the 'Talks'" in its February issue this year, WEN YI BAO immediately convened a forum to express disapproval of it; later on, it again engendered a so-called "briefing on the situation" at another place. Once this "briefing" came to light, WEN YI BAO immediately upheld it like superior treasure and began to circulate it everywhere as an internal situation in order to organize a siege. At that time, few responded; where isolated individuals joined the battle in a hurry, they unexpectedly fouled up their grammar by interpreting "during the 16 years." It appears that WEN YI BAO has already come to think that this move on the chessboard is not a good one; in order to further stir up trouble, it later again employed the signature of Yu Dong and published the full text of the "briefing on the situation" which it "circulated" to the whole country, with no holds barred....

By thus time and again making trouble through harping on "the 16 years," this conduct on the part of WEN YI BAO really constitutes a strange phenomenon in the 40 years since the publication of the "Talks" (except the 10-year internal disturbance). What do they really want to do by making trouble with such frenzy? Viewed from information revealed through articles published in WEN YI BAO, etc, they mean to mobilize public opinion, organize a siege, and condemn SHIDAI DE BAOGAO as an extreme leftist publication and put it to death. Naturally, their antics in this regard are clever. But precisely their clever conduct reveals a flaw, which indicates that while they orally uphold the Third Plenary Session, in reality they are trampling on the line of the Third Plenary Session of seeking truth from facts, uniting together and looking forward with their own conduct.

Some comrades say: we hope WEN YI BAO will just stop here and proceed to unite with everybody else and march forward together on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought and the "Resolutions" of the Third and the Sixth Plenary Session and on the basis of the four basic principles.

Please kindly correct our improper utterances wherever you should find them. Our sincere greetings!

[Signed:] Beijing, P. O. Box 9200; Xue Liang
[5641 0081] and Fang Hanying [2455 0698 5391],
30 May 1982

[Letter: "New Situations and New Problems Should Be Studied"]

The signed article "A Noteworthy Question of Principle" (hereafter cited as "Principle") published in the May issue of WEN YI BAO this year expresses disapproval of the statement "during the 16 years since the 'cultural revolution'" broached by "This Journal's Explication" in the February issue of SHIDAI DE BAOGAO this year as "a fresh, strange proposition," as "speaking in the same vein" as the two historical periods before and after the third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, and as "tantamount to eradicating the significance of the third Plenary Session as a great turning point in the history of the party and the state." But after reading "This Journal's Explication" in the February issue of SHIDAI DE BAOGAO repeatedly, we failed to reach the conclusion reached by WEN YI BAO and only sensed that WEN YI BAO was trying to attach some label at random.

We are of the opinion that the statement "during the 16 years since the 'cultural revolution'" in "This Journal's Explication" is only a time concept, because tracing back from this year (1982) to the beginning of the 'cultural revolution,' the period has lasted precisely 16 years. As for the so-called suggestion by "Principle" of WEN YI BAO that "As we trace the 'Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of Our State' passed by the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and through all documents of the party Central Committee and speeches of the central responsible leaders, we have come across no proposition whatsoever about 'the 16 years,'" etc, it really does not merit a refutation. Let us ask: when did documents of the party Central Committee and speeches of the central responsible leaders ever suggest that every sentence and every word must be copied precisely (except those who resort to "whateverism"), and when did they ever suggest that the study of problems during those 16 years is not permitted? No, they did not, and as we look through all documents and speeches in the past few years, we have found no such suggestion either. On the contrary, the Third and the Sixth Plenary Sessions both called upon us to study new problems. This being the case, can it be said that "Principle" in WEN YI BAO, in thus rudely trumping up criminal labels and not allowing people to mention the 16 years, not allowing people to study the new situations and new problems caused by the "cultural revolution," is acting in accordance with the spirit of the Third and the Sixth Plenary Sessions?!

As for alleging that stress being put on the 16 years confuses such two entirely different people as "the 10-year internal disturbance and the years since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee" and the attendant reproach that it was "tantamount to eradicating the significance of the Third Plenary Session as a great turning point in the history of our party and state," that can be made even less likely to stand. For "This Journal's Explication" puts it very clearly that these 16 years imply the 10 years in which the band of counterrevolutionaries like Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and their ilk perpetrated their tyranny and the 6 years after the "smashing of the 'gang of four'"; in one case they suggest interference and sabotage by the extreme Left, and in another they suggest some people resorting to bourgeois liberalization. It is so obvious that the two periods are presented separately; how can it be said that it has "spoken of the two in the same vein"? Can it be said that mentioning a time concept as to how many years it has been is equivalent to speaking of

the things that occurred during those years in the same vein? If this logic is to be followed, then would not what we commonly refer to as "the 140 years since the Opium War" be equivalent to speaking of the old democratic revolution as well as the New Democratic revolution, plus the socialist revolution, in the same vein? Would it not be eradicating the great significance of the "4 May" movement in the turn from the old democratic revolution toward the New Democratic revolution? This is really ridiculous!

Lenin once pointed out: "When we analyze any social problem, an absolute requirement of Marxist theory is to put forward the problem in a given historical context." While during the 40 years since the publication of the "Talks" there has always existed a struggle between two ideologies and two tendencies, insofar as interference from the "Left" is concerned none has been as bad as what happened during those 10 years when Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and their ilk swash-buckled across the country; and insofar as interference from the Right is concerned none has been as bad as what has been happening during the past few years since the smashing of the "gang of four." Is this not a fact?

Setting aside the way the "gang of four" openly tampered with the "Talks" by resorting to a manipulation of thesis priorities and writing about "the capitalist-readers," in just the last few years have not some people openly expressed resentment against the basic spirit of Mao Zedong's literary thought and unjustly ascribed all kinds of extreme leftist practices in literary and art circles to Comrade Mao Zedong's "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art"?! Have not certain individuals even openly declared that the "Talks" constituted "the last taboo area" and that the six criteria on literature and art mentioned by Comrade Mao Zedong constituted "six sticks"?! As for certain works of literary creation which deviated from production, deviated from the masses, resorted to fabrication and imagination, and indulged in simplistic self-expression, they have even further departed from the scientific principles of the "Talks." SHIDAI DE BAOGAO, in attempting to study these newly emergent problems through restudying the "Talks," is really acting in accordance with the principles of the Third Plenary Session on the need to emancipate our thinking, use our brains, and seek truth from facts and also in accordance with the requirement put forward by the "Resolution" passed by the Sixth Plenary Session that "We must adhere to Mao Zedong Thought and seriously learn from and apply its standpoint, viewpoint and method to the study of the new situations appearing in our practice and the solution of new problems." Let us ask: what kind of crime can this possibly constitute?

Worthy of people's attention is that when some people see criticism of bourgeois liberalization, they immediately become excited like a bull seeing a red flag in a Spanish bull ring, and hence they immediately upbraid the critics: "In thus criticizing this, you are opposing the principle of our ideological emancipation proposed by the Third Plenary Session and denying the achievements scored since the Third Plenary Session." To tell the truth, this is practicing bourgeois liberalization in reality under the pretext of upholding the line of the Third Plenary Session in name. On this question, Comrade Hu Qiaomu in his article on "Certain Questions on Our Ideological Front" has carried out a profound analysis. He said: "The liberalizing point of view in not a few cases has emerged in the name of implementing the principle of the Third Plenary

Session, in terms of emancipating our thinking.... In their eyes, emancipating our thinking can be separated from the course of the party's and the people's experience in revolutionary struggle which has been tested through practice, from the course of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, and from the four basic principles. A very small number of comrades think proposing adherence to the four basic principles is shooting an arrow without a target; some people even take the four basic principles as four sticks. From the point of view of this small number of people, no such thing exists as a trend of bourgeois liberalization, either in the party itself or even in society in general.... There exists inside the party merely the question of opposing 'Leftist' mistakes, and even the socialist transformation led by the party can be included in such 'Leftist' mistakes."

This is precisely the case. The reason why "Principle" in WEN YI BAO chooses to make an issue out of "the 16 years," which is in essence an attempt to wave an anti-"Leftist" banner in order to oppose correct things; that is, by opposing criticism of bourgeois liberalization, it seeks to gain a cover for its own bourgeois liberalization.

We think the difference between SHIDAI DE BAOGAO and WEN YI BAO lies not in the so-called "proposition about the 16 years" but in whether or not there exists bourgeois liberalization in our literary and art circles, whether or not we need to oppose bourgeois liberalization and, with regard to this new problem, whether or not we need to restudy the "Talks." If there are still people who have doubts about this, then they need only to read carefully WEN YI BAO to see whether during the key period of the last few years it adhered to the "Talks" and the four basic principles or stood on some other side; that would make things very clear.

Because we think the inclination of WEN YI BAO is problematical, we are writing this letter to you. If there is anything improper, please kindly correct us. Our sincere greetings to you.

[Signed:] Peng Ze [1756 3419] and Yan Ru [0917 3067]
of 58 Progress Road, Tianjin

[Article by Zheng Xianguo [6774 9359 0948] and Wen Zheng [2429 2973], students of the class of 1978, Political Science Department, South China Normal College: "Looking at Problems Squarely in the Manner of Seeking Truth from Facts Is a Fine Workstyle of the New Era--Talking Matters Out with Comrade Yu Dong [7183 2639]"]

Having read the group of articles on studying the "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art" published in issue No 2 of SHIDAI DE BAOGAO and its "This Journal's Explication" and having also read the article "A Noteworthy Question of Principle" written by Comrade Yu Dong in issue No 5 of WEN YI BAO this year, we agree with the viewpoint of the former and we cannot follow the view of the latter. Now let us talk about our views, those of some college students.

We think that the statement that "during the 16 years since the 'cultural revolution,' the 'Talks' has also been subjected to distortion and tampering from the

'Left' as well as from the Right," as presented in the group of articles on studying Chairman Mao's "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art" and "This Journal's Explication" published in SHIDAI DE BAOGAO, is correct, because it is in accordance with objective reality. On the contrary, Yu Dong's disapproval of it cannot be said to represent a scientific attitude in the manner of seeking truth from facts. We know that seeking truth from facts is the soul of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. When we discuss a problem, we must adhere to the attitude of seeking truth from facts and take objective facts as our point of departure. It can be affirmed that since the "cultural revolution" the "Talks" has indeed been subjected to "Leftist" and Rightist distortion and tampering. During the "cultural revolution," because of their political needs Lin Biao and the "gang of four" appeared in a "Leftist" complexion and resorted uninhibitedly to utilitarianism; they distorted and tampered with the "Talks" in the service of their sinister literature and art. On this point, relevant articles have already discussed a great deal, and we do not wish to repeat them here. Yet, after the downfall of the "gang of four" and even after the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, did no problems exist any longer? We don't think this was the case; in our literary and art circles there were not only problems, but problems that were even quite serious in certain respects. The problems were that the remnant poison of the "Left" was still not cleansed away and at the same time there was also interference from the Right. During the past few years, while ideological emancipation has achieved great results and thereby brought to our literature and art the new atmosphere of "a hundred flowers blooming, a hundred schools contending," things have not been absolute and everything follows the law of one dividing into two. Because we lacked understanding of the struggle in the ideological realm and underestimated matters, we relaxed our ideological and political work and caused part of our personnel in the literary and art circles to develop toward extremism. Some people took advantage of the banner "ideological emancipation" and thereby violated the four basic principles, deviated from the course of Marxism-Leninism, and propagated and fabricated corrupt and vulgar works. In order to create a rational and legitimate theoretical basis for liberalization, they did not mind distorting facts and starting to disapprove of and negate the "Talks," which had long ago pointed out the correct direction of our proletarian literary and art work. They alleged that "the 'Talks' was a product of the extreme Leftist trend of thought," that it "was the root source of the extreme Leftist literary and art line of Lin Biao and the 'gang of four,'" etc. In no time at all, a sinister wind began to blow from everywhere and assume a momentum inclining toward sweeping the "Talks" away; some people wanted to instigate the writing of a contemporary "book of proscription," suggesting that they wished to destroy the "Talks" as a line of our defense. The masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and the vast ranks of the intellectuals all were anxious, puzzled and worried about this. Under precisely the interference of this trend, they further raised a hue and cry against such revolutionary slogans as "Fear Neither Hardship, Nor Death," "Utter Devotion to Others Without Any Thought of Self," etc, unscrupulously opposed communist ideas and morality, and gave the green light to bourgeois individualistic egotism, pursuit of the Western lifestyle and negation of the four basic principles. Such a trend seriously corroded the souls of the masses of the people, especially youths and children, and disrupted social customs. Speaking of us, college students, the thinking of some fellow students was "liberated" in a

strange way. They called "Marxism fetters constraining people's thought, and socialism the root source limiting people's freedoms and leading to autocracy and dictatorship"; they alleged that "if China is to have a future, it must first of all remove such obstacles." They were very much attracted by Western freedoms, very much attracted by the "sexual liberty, sexual emancipation" of primitive polygamy in the Puerto Rican style, thinking that only this constituted the greatest happiness and freedom in the world. Such erroneous ideas are in not a few instances affected by the erroneous tendency in our literature and art.

While this may constitute only part of the problem, it suffices already to indicate the seriousness of the problem. The reason why such a tendency harmful to the people has appeared in our literature and art is mainly a result of the negation of the basic principles of the "Talks," because a change in the correct direction of literature and art in serving first of all the workers, peasants and soldiers and the creative path that life is the fountainhead of creation is bound to develop in the opposite direction and go astray. Not long ago, among movie products there appeared not a few vulgar, base and even reactionary things which deviated from reality and from the masses of the people. On this, the opinion of the masses was most pronounced. All such happenings have been facts witnessed by everybody; why did Comrade Yu Dong fail to see while looking at them? Can it be said that these problems represented not interference from the Right but interference from the "Left"?!

Of course, in the overall sense these are merely partial problems and they are mainly reflected in corrosion by bourgeois ideas in the ideological realm and economic realm. Speaking of personnel, the problems also affect only part of our literary and art theoretical circles. Yet, their influence has been rather large, and it cannot but attract our attention. We think the reason why part of our literary and art workers have exhibited such problems is mainly because their worldview was not well transformed, they lacked a scientific attitude toward ideological emancipation, and they were influenced by the trend of Western liberalization. This has nothing to do with the party Central Committee. On the contrary, it was the party Central Committee which discovered and corrected such deviation in time. For instance, the central propaganda minister, Comrade Wang Renzhong, at the time was one who openly affirmed the correctness of the viewpoint and principles of the "Talks." Comrade Deng Xiaoping likewise openly affirmed the correctness of a series of our revolutionary slogans; he also criticized this devious and vicious trend and cleared up people's confused thinking. This has been the fine tradition of our party in the new era in seeking truth from facts, not concealing defects, and correcting defects in time; it is indeed a pleasing new workstyle. How, under such circumstances, can we say that criticizing bourgeois liberalization tendencies in our literary and art circles and opposing the erroneous way of negating the "Talks" are eradicating the significance of the great shift on the part of the party and the state since the Third Plenary Session? If this logic is followed, then, when the party points out the seriousness of problems in our economic realm today and launches our struggle in cracking down on serious criminal activities in the economic realm, would it not be even more gravely "eradicating the significance of the great shift on the part of the party and the state since the Third Plenary Session"? We should know that the line of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee is meant to oppose both the "Left"

and the Right. The central leading comrades have openly said that there exist in our work in the past few years both "Leftist" and Rightist interference and sabotage; can it be said that this constitutes "eradicating the significance of the great shift...since the Third Plenary Session"? The opposite, in fact, is true; pointing out the question of deviation in our literary and art circles today in the manner of seeking truth from facts--this is precisely the scientific attitude of Marxism-Leninism; it aims precisely at protecting the implementation of the line of the Third Plenary Session. Looking at a problem squarely is to solve that problem and to advance forward even better. In contrast, the manner of trying to conceal facts and avoiding problems can be only harmful and not beneficial.

The facts show that pointing out that during the 16 years since the "cultural revolution" practices of "Leftist" and Rightist distortion and tampering have prevailed in respect to the question of handling the "Talks" is acting in accordance with reality and is correct. Yet in his article published in WEN YI BAO, not only does Comrade Yu Dong's standpoint not stand up, but the basis of his argument does not hold. To tell the truth, this is an unscientific attitude which glosses things over and is rather unreasonable; at the same time, it is also a reflection of the remnant poison of the bad workstyle in the "cultural revolution" period, when people waved their sticks and attached political labels to others at random. We think we must firmly discard such an unwholesome workstyle.

Ours is a socialist state with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought as its guiding ideology. Our literature and art are meant to serve the masses of the people and socialism. We must insist on taking Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought as our guide, adhere to the correct direction of the "Talks," oppose the erroneous tendency of bourgeois liberalization, and only thus can we create good works beneficial to building the people's spiritual civilization and propel forward the construction of our "four modernizations." We think this is the correct attitude every literary and art worker should adopt and the unshirkable responsibility of everyone; it is also a worthy question of principle in relation to the healthy development of our literature and art today.

[Article by Liang Jun [2733 6511], Anhui Vinylon Plant: "Let Me Also Contend with WEN YI BAO"]

It has been a full 40 years since the publication of Chairman Mao's "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art."

For 40 years, the "Talks," like a bright lamp, has illuminated the path of advancement for our revolutionary literary and art workers and educated hundreds and thousands of literary and art workers to enable them to cast off their bourgeois and petty-bourgeois view on literature and art and enter into the fighting ranks of the proletariat. All revolutionary literary and art workers willing to dedicate themselves to the Chinese people have a profound feeling about the "Talks"; this has been witnessed by everybody.

But, undeniably, among our literary and art ranks there indeed are still those comrade who, for one reason or another, harbor doubt with respect to the fundamental spirit of the "Talks" and among whom a very small number even take the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois standpoint and indulge in the ideas of creation based on bourgeois liberalization. And they, on the other hand, choose to detract from and distort the "Talks" as the literary and art theory of the proletariat. They are unwilling to accept the well-intended criticism of other comrades and insist on plowing forward along an erroneous path.

In its issue No 5 this year, WEN YI BAO published an article under Comrade Yu Dong's signature entitled "A Noteworthy Question of Principle" (hereafter cited as "Principle"), which expresses skepticism about a group of articles on re-studying the "Talks" and "This Journal's Explication" published in the February issue of SHIDAI DE BAOGAO; this is a salient example of adhering to such an erroneous standpoint.

Concerning the so-called "During the 16 Years Since the 'Cultural Revolution'"

During the 16 years since the "cultural revolution," apart from distorting and tampering with the "Talks" by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques from the "Left," has anybody consciously or unconsciously distorted of bourgeois liberalization occurring in literary and art circles? "Principle" puts it this way: "Since the smashing of the 'gang of four,' especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, literary and art circles have also been carrying on a struggle between the two lines; the main struggle in the earlier stage was returning to order from disorder, sweeping away the remnant poison of extreme Leftism, and criticizing the viewpoint of the 'two whatevers.' During the last 2 years, it has been directed at the trend of thought in violation of the four basic principles that had appeared in society and, while continuing the criticism against the Left, this latter period emphatically carried out a struggle against bourgeois liberalization."

If we weigh this passage carefully, it is not difficult to see that "Principle" is merely talking about so-called bourgeois liberalization in society while denying the serious tendency of bourgeois liberalization that had appeared in our literary and art circles; very obviously, "Principle" closes its eyes to the facts and speaks blindly. We need not wear our pens out describing that noisily chaotic situation in our literary and art circles in the earlier stage or repeat those preposterous viewpoints and the distortion and sarcasm those people did their best to perpetrate against the basic principles of the "Talks"; with respect to the unhealthy trend which appeared in literary and art circles, our party and the vast ranks of the masses of our people (including the overwhelming majority of comrades in our literary and art circles) have all undertaken to criticize and help them. Here, we might well recall Comrade Hu Yaobang's speech at the gathering in celebration of the 100th anniversary of Lu Xun's birth. While affirming the main current of our literary and art front, at the same time he pointed out certain unhealthy negative things harmful to the people in our literary and art work: "Our comrades all remember that in the winter a year ago and last spring, our party issued a series of opinions on account of this and also carried out repeated warm discussions with comrades in our literary and art circles and further advanced many proposals on helping our literature

and art prosper. It is a pity that certain opinions of a fundamental nature expressed by our party failed to attract the full attention of comrades in our literary and art circles." Indeed, when a small number of comrades in our literary and art circles indulged in the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois type of "self-expression" and delighted in the "individualistic liberation" of the Western capitalist society, relished "exposing wounds" indiscriminately, and superciliously alienated themselves from life and fabricated at random, did it ever occur to them what serious consequences might be brought to society, to the masses of the people, and especially to youths and children by such conduct on their part? In quoting this passage, this writer's purpose is to remind certain comrades in our literary and art circles who up to this very day still stick to their erroneous viewpoint to calmly reflect on their own defects and shortcomings; they should not just think of finding from other comrades' criticism certain proofs in the form of a word here and a phrase there that would help cover up their defects.

In seizing upon "the 16 years," the article "Principle" in WEN YI BAO seems really to have seized a queue. Actually, there is not much fuss to make concerning "the 16 years." Is it not 16 years from the beginning of the "cultural revolution" to this day? This is time, and also a fact; there is nothing to disapprove of. It can be seen that "the 16 years" does not present any problem, but that, in proposing the restudying of the "Talks" and pointing out bourgeois liberalization, SHIDAI DE BAOGAO inadvertently touched the sore spot of WEN YI BAO.

Concerning the Question of Whether or Not Literary and Art Workers Still Face a Reform of Their Worldview and Shift of Their Standpoint

A part of the intellectuals, literary and art workers should of course also have become a component part of the working class. Then, do they still have a problem of having to continue to reform their worldview and shift their standpoint? I think, as an individual, especially in the case of certain individuals, this problem still exists. We should insure that the literary and art workers, under the leadership of the party, shoulder the role of propagandizing the people, educating the people, and refining the people; they are supposed to directly influence society and influence the masses of the people with their own worldview, moral concepts, and ethical concepts. In this sense, the demands of the party and the people on them are even greater; this is both natural and correct. As Comrade Deng Yingchao has said: we literary and art workers must not only be experts in respect to literature and art but also be revolutionaries. Therefore, if our literary and art workers still harbor prejudices shaped on account of historical mistakes, still stubbornly oppose such matters of utter importance to literary and art workers as reforming their worldview and shifting their standpoint, then that is not only highly inappropriate but also gravely mistaken.

20 May 1982

P.S.

Comrade Editor: In the midst of the myriad periodicals as thick as a forest, I believe that SHIDAI DE BAOGAO is able to maintain a serious, simplistic and

judicious workstyle, neither trying to please the public with claptrap, nor remaining rigid or stagnant; this is perhaps one of the reasons why certain people in society have cursed your journal as one monopolized by a bunch of "old but refuse-to-quitters." When I read the article in WEN YI BAO, I began to believe strongly that apart from the fact that it wanted this writer to join in some contention, it may well have had an ulterior motive. Who knows. Basing myself on the sense of responsibility of a communist toward the cause of his party, I have written the above opinion. Because I have not studied enough, it may not be accurate; I likewise hope it can benefit from the correction and assistance of the editor of your journal. (Attached please find a stamp.) Sincere revolutionary greetings!

Liang Jun, 20 May 1982

Original Criticism by Yu Dong

Beijing WEN YI BAO [LITERARY GAZETTE] in Chinese 7 Apr 82 pp 50-51

[Article by Yu Dong: "A Noteworthy Question of Principle--Part of the Editor Comrades of a Periodical Published Under the Auspices of the Anhui Provincial Literary Association Express Skepticism About a Group of Articles in the 1982 issue No 2 of SHIDAO DE BAOGAO and Its 'This Journal's Explication'"]

[Text] In order to enable a few journals such as ANHUI WENXUE [ANHUI LITERATURE], QINGMING and XIJUJIE [THEATRICAL CIRCLES] to launch study and research activities on the occasion of this 40th anniversary of the publication of the "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art," on 19 March the party organization of the Anhui Literary Association organized the responsible persons and review-editing personnel of the editorial departments of these three journals to restudy the "Talks." In the process of their discussion, apart from the emphasis everybody placed on the great significance of restudying the "Talks," some comrades expressed skepticism about the group of articles under the title of restudying the "Talks" published in the February issue of SHIDAI DE BAOGAO, especially about certain propositions in the journal's "This Journal's Explication."

The comrades said that the proposition in "This Journal's Explication" is rather strange and hardly understandable. For instance, it says: "But during the 16 years since the 'cultural revolution,' the 'Talks' has also been subjected to distortion and tampering from the 'Left' and from the Right. By extreme Leftist methods, the band of counterrevolutionaries like Lin Biao and Jiang Qing transformed the people's literature and art which serve the workers, peasants and soldiers into the sinister literature and art that helped the Lin and Jiang antiparty cliques usurp the party and seize power. After the smashing of the 'gang of four,' some people again sought to break the 'Talks' as a convention; in the end they could not but get themselves bogged down in the mudpit of bourgeois liberalization."

There are several places in this passage which warrant scrutiny.

1. "The 16 years" constitutes a fresh, strange proposition. Tracing the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding

of Our State" passed by the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and through documents of the party Central Committee and various speeches of the central responsible comrades; we can find no proposition like "the 16 years." The "Resolution," in particular, provides clear a division and succinct expositions regarding the various historical stages; one does not know why SHIDAI DE BAOGAO should create such a special concept as "the 16 years."

2. The 10-year internal disturbance and the years since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee make up two entirely different historical periods. Confusing the fundamental boundaries between these two periods and speaking of them in the same vein are tantamount to eradicating the significance of the Third Plenary Session as a great turning point in the history of the party and the state.

3. It has been 40 years since the publication of the "Talks." In the process of implementing the "Talks," there has existed in history a struggle between the two lines. And "This Journal's Explication" mentions neither "the 40 years since then" nor "since the founding of our state," still less "since the Third Plenary Session"; instead, it just chooses to undercut history and uses only "the 16 years since the 'cultural revolution'" to discuss problems, as if there had been no struggle whatsoever prior to the "cultural revolution" and as if since the smashing of the "gang of four," on the other hand, there has existed in literary and art circles only the Rightist tendency of bourgeois liberalization. This does not accord with historical facts. With respect to problems that existed in the ideological realm prior to the "cultural revolution," the "Resolution" clearly points out: "Erroneous and excessive political criticism was carried out against certain literary works, academic viewpoints, and certain representative personalities in literary and art circles and academic circles; there occurred increasingly serious Leftist deviation in the question of how to deal with intellectuals and with educational, scientific and cultural questions." And since the smashing of the "gang of four," especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, literary and art circles have also been carrying out a struggle between the two lines; the struggle in the earlier stage was the return to order from disorder, the sweeping away of the remnant poison of extreme Leftism, and criticism against "the two whatevers." During the past 2 years, in the face of the emergence of a trend of thinking against the four basic principles in society, while criticism against the "Left" continued to be carried out, emphasis was placed at the same time on the struggle of opposing bourgeois liberalization. Denying that since the smashing of the "gang of four," especially since the Third Plenary Session, our struggle has been mainly that of opposing the "Left" and we have also achieved great results, is liable to lead to negating the suggestions of seeking truth from facts, ideological emancipation, and continuing the return to order from disorder made by the Third Plenary Session, as well as the launching of the discussion on practice being the only criterion for testing truth, etc.

4. A signed article in the same issue of that journal chooses without analysis to broach anew the slogan that "literary and art workers still face a question of primary importance as to the transformation of their worldview and shifting of their standpoint," and also repeatedly stresses that the "task of primary

importance" and the "fundamental question" of literary and art workers is to "shift their standpoint to the side of the workers, peasants and soldiers, to shift it to the side of the proletariat." And the ideological transformation mentioned here does not mean changing the objective world at the same time along with changing people's subjective world, which everybody must carry out through his entire life; instead, it means a fundamental transformation by literary and art workers of their basic standpoint. This runs counter to the spirit of the policy where in the party has repeatedly pointed out clearly that intellectuals are a part of the working class. Such a proposition can easily result in part of the people discriminating against, criticizing, and excluding another part of the people.

At the forum, participants also pointed out that the "Talks" is Comrade Mao Zedong's important work; though 40 years have elapsed since then, its basic spirit is still of great guiding significance to today's literary and art work. We must adopt a historical-materialist and dialectical-materialist attitude in dealing with the "Talks" in order to enable it to continue to enrich and develop itself in revolutionary practice. In reality, there are several dozen relatively more important revisions alone in the newest edition of the "Talks" compared to its earliest edition. In spite of this, certain questions, such as the relationship between literature and art and politics, "political criteria first, literary and art criteria second," etc, are still discussed in practice and transformed in their propositions; some responsible comrades of the party Central Committee have also repeatedly mentioned this problem in their speeches. This is a normal phenomenon under the guidance of the party's suggestions of seeking truth from facts and emancipating our thinking.

The participants held that at present our country is situated in a complex and complicated historical period; our party is facing formidable tasks and struggles in the political, economic, as well as cultural realms. Whether or not we can steadfastly implement the line, principles and policies formulated by the Third and Sixth Plenary Sessions of the 11th Party Central Committee concerns the destiny of the party and state. While our overall situation is good at present, the struggle between the two lines we are facing is still formidable. We must continue to pay attention to the influence of bourgeois liberalization; we must forthrightly and confidently propagate the four basic principles; and we must guard against interference by "Leftist" things.

Participants held that we have different opinions about certain propositions in SHIDAI DE BAOGAO's "This Journal's Explication"; but these are differences in ideological viewpoints among the people; they can be solved through the method of contention. Some comrades are pained to write articles on this and publish them openly.

Anhui Forum on Controversy

Hefei ANHUI WENXUE [ANHUI LITERATURE] in Chinese No 2, 1982, Jun 82 pp 71-76, 79

[Forum: "A Different Opinion on 'the 16 Years' Proposition--Summaries of Statements Made at Forum Convened by This Journal's Editorial Department"]

[Text] This year is the 40th anniversary of the publication of Comrade Mao Zedong's "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Litera-

ture and Art." In the process of restudying the "Talks," some comrades have expressed different opinions about certain propositions made in "This Journal's Explication" added by SHIDAI DE BAOGAO when it published commemorative articles in its February issue this year. We believe that securing a correct understanding of the problem through the method of discussion and contention will be beneficial. For this reason, the editorial department of this journal recently invited several comrades to hold a forum; below are summaries of the statements made at that forum.

Of course, if other comrades have other opinions, this journal welcomes them to express their own respective views accordingly.

Su Zhong [5685 0022] (responsible person of editorial department of this journal): The 40th anniversary of the publication of Comrade Mao Zedong's "Talks" falls on 23 May this year. All newspapers and journals are going to publish commemorative articles. SHIDAI DE BAOGAO started publishing early; in February it already published several articles, and it added "This Journal's Explication," too. After reading some of its propositions, not a few comrades considered that they are rather fresh and strange and hard to understand. I think that too. For instance, "This Journal's Explication" says: "During the 16 years since the 'cultural revolution,' the 'Talks' has been subjected to distortion and tampering from the 'Left' and from the Right. By extreme Leftist methods, the band of counterrevolutionaries like Lin Biao and Jiang Qing transformed the people's literature and art which serve the workers, peasants and soldiers into sinister literature and art that helped the Lin and Jiang antiparty cliques usurp the party and seize power. After the smashing of the 'gang of four,' some people again sought to break the 'Talks' as a convention; in the end they could not but get themselves bogged down in the mudpit of bourgeois liberalization." Tracing the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of Our State" passed by the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and through documents of the party Central Committee and various speeches of the central responsible comrades, we can find no proposition like "the 16 years." One does not know why SHIDAI DE BAOGAO should create such a special concept as "the 16 years." I personally believe that this proposition is liable to confuse the boundaries between two entirely different historical periods and liable to confuse the two different categories of contradictions. Certain propositions in the signed individual articles, such as the question of the intellectuals' ideological remolding, are also taken up in a rather partial way and not in a way exactly consistent with the party Central Committee's principles and policies and the spirit of the directives of the central responsible comrades. This is a question of right and wrong in theory which merits our exploration. On the basis of the spirit of seeking truth from facts and searching for truth, we have invited everyone here to hold this forum. Comrade Jiang Liu [3068 3177] cannot come because of a prior commitment; let us start our discussion right away. Everybody please express your own opinion without any formality; please speak freely.

Liang Changsen [2733 7022 2773] (Anhui Scientific and Technological Publishing House): Let me say something first. I believe that whether we are criticizing a person or an article, we need always to look at problems comprehensively and historically and we need always to look at their main trends. This principle naturally also applies to our criticism of "This Journal's Explication." In spite of the fact that its content does not necessarily lack correct ingredients, its overall inclination, as I see it, does seem problematical. This is reflected mainly in the following aspects:

First, its estimation of the literary and art situation since the smashing of the "gang of four." At the Fourth National Congress of Literary and Art Circles, Comrade Deng Xiaoping clearly pointed out that literature and art have constituted one of the most successful departments. Thereafter, many central documents have also reiterated this estimation. They affirmed the achievements in literature and art and they naturally also pointed out defects. What Comrade Hu Yaobang spoke of at the tea during the spring festival this year as "adhering to the approach of one dividing into two, climbing still another story of the tower" was also meant to give scope to achievements and overcome defects with a view to climbing still another story of the tower, i.e., doing an even better job in handling our literature and art. "This Journal's Explication" not only refrains from mentioning anything about the achievements scored in the last few years but, on the contrary, alleges without analysis that these past 6 years have witnessed a Rightist tendency and interference from the Right, as if nothing else was right about our literature and art during these past 6 years except their Rightist tendency and their bourgeois liberalization. This is not appropriate.

Second, "This Journal's Explication" ties together two entirely different historical periods--the 10-year internal disturbance and the years since the smashing of the "gang of four," especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee--and indiscriminately puts forward "the 16 years" since; this is liable to confuse the two different categories of contradictions. Everyone knows that during the 10-year period of internal disturbance, revolutionary writers on the one hand were subjected to attacks and persecution and fine literary works were clamped down and strangled, whereas on the other hand Lin and Jiang, in conjunction with their usurpation of the party and seizure of power, perpetrated a system of sinister literature and art and thus fundamentally changed the character of our literature and art. During the recent 6 years, while there have appeared in our literature and art this and that kind of shortcomings and mistakes, the overall trend has been nonetheless healthy the progressive, and the direction correct. It is normal for certain failings to show up in the process of our progress. These are two different kinds of questions and they should not be spoken of in the same vein.

Third, on the basis of the above two points, the proposition of "This Journal's Explication" fares very badly also in terms of its effects. It has created an impression in people's minds that the literary and art situation since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee has not been very different from that of the 10-year period of internal disturbance, and the only difference lies in that one was "Leftist" and one is Rightist. This is liable to confuse people's thinking.

Bai Rong [4101 2827] (Anhui Association of Musicians): "This Journal's Explication" is not a long article--less than a thousand characters. Nominally it is a lament expressed on the occasion of the call for restudy of the "Talks," but in reality its proposition itself fails to accord with the basic spirit of the "Talks." It has been 40 years since the publication of the "Talks." In the process of implementing the "Talks," there has always existed a struggle between the two ideologies and two tendencies. Yet "This Journal's Explication" neither suggests "the 40 years since" nor suggests "since the founding of our state" and still less mentions "since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee"; instead, it chooses simply to undercut history and to talk about interference, merely mentioning "the 16 years since the 'cultural revolution,'" as if prior to the "cultural revolution" no struggle ever took place whereas since the smashing of the "gang of four" there has existed in literary and art circles only the Rightist tendency of "liberalization." The "Resolution" passed by the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, for one, points out clearly the problems which existed in the ideological realm prior to the "cultural revolution": "Erroneous and excessive political criticism was carried out against certain literary works, academic viewpoints, and certain representative personalities in literary and art circles and academic circles; there occurred increasingly serious Leftist deviation on the question of how to deal with intellectuals and with educational, scientific and cultural questions, which later developed into the fuse that touched off the 'cultural revolution.'" And since the smashing of the "gang of four," especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, literary and art circles have also been carrying out a struggle between the two lines; the main struggle in the earlier stage was the return to order from disorder, the sweeping away of the remnant poison of extreme Leftism, and criticism against "the two whatevers." During the past 2 years, in the face of the emergence of a trend of thinking against the four basic principles in society, while criticism against the "Left" continued to be carried out, emphasis was placed at the same time on the struggle of opposing bourgeois liberalization." Denying that since the smashing of the "gang of four," especially since the Third Plenary Session, our struggle has been mainly that of opposing the "Left" and that we have also achieved great results is liable to lead to negating the suggestions of seeking truth from facts, ideological emancipation, and continuing the return to order from disorder made by the Third Plenary Session as well as the launching of the discussion on practice being the only criterion for testing truth, etc.

Therefore, I believe that while this strange proposition made in "This Journal's Explication" might look on the surface like a question about literature and art, in reality it constitutes a question of principle relating to our appraisal of the overall situation. We should forthrightly and confidently launch our contention and clarify right and wrong.

Li Huanren [2621 3562 0088] (Chinese Department, Anhui University): Some of my views have already been mentioned by the foregoing comrades; I need not repeat them here. As a researcher in contemporary literature and a teacher in the history of contemporary literature, I would like to emphasize my different view on the periodization of contemporary literature from that of SHIDAI DE BAOGAO. This question of periodization as to the historical stages of the development

of our contemporary literature, while it is being studied and explored by academic circles, is by no means one over which anybody can fabricate and subjectively conjecture. It follows the objective facts of historical development and is constrained by the interconnections between them as exhibited in society. During the past few years, the very first question we encountered in compiling a "History of China's Contemporary Literature" was one of periodization. Following Marxist historical science, the teaching personnel from 22 universities participating in the compilation and teachers in contemporary literature from nearly 50 universities and colleges who have joined in the various discussions all along are of the opinion that the more than 30 years of historical development since the founding of our state have themselves formed four clear developmental stages, that is, from 1949 to 1956, from 1957 to 1965, from 1966 to 1976, and from 1977 to the present. This periodization is not the product of the will of us several hundred comrades as individuals, but really and truly because there actually exist in objective history such a series of stages which cannot brook any fabrication, modification, or manipulation. Soon, the "First Draft History of China's Contemporary Literature" compiled by the 10 universities and colleges entrusted with the task by the Ministry of Education will be published. This work follows a periodization of the three major stages of literature in terms of the 17 years following the founding of our state, the 10 years of the "cultural revolution," and the new era since the smashing of the "gang of four." This periodization is likewise determined strictly in accordance with the existence of objective history. Still another case is Beijing University's "A General View of Contemporary Literature"; in terms of periodization; that work also follows the "three-stage" system. All of these are relatively complete developmental histories of our contemporary literature published during the 32 years since the founding of our state. In addition, in Comrade Zhou Yang's important report at the Fourth National Congress of Literary and Art Circles, "Inherit the Past and Open Up the Future, Make the Literature and Art of Our Socialist New Era Prosper," his appraisal, analysis, and summing up of the developmental history of our contemporary literature were also based on the three differential historical stages of the 17 years, the 10 years of the "cultural revolution," and the period since the beginning of the new era. In 1981, the historic "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of Our State" was promulgated. The "Resolution" divides the 32 years since the founding of our state into four stages: "the 7 years during which our basic socialist transformation was completed," "the 10 years during which we began our overall socialist construction," "the 10 years of the 'cultural revolution,'" and "the historic, great shift." This provides the most correct, most reliable and most authoritative document for us in academic circles to compile and study the developmental history of our contemporary socialist society.

In untiringly citing these works and documents here, I do not mean that "This Journal's Explication" has violated any prescription by practicing addition like an elementary school pupil while putting together the 10 years of the "cultural revolution" and the 6 years of the "historic, great shift"; that is not the case. Even though the "Resolution" has periodized the history of New China, as an academic question the periodization of our literary history can still broach independent views. The problem is that the new, heretic criterion flaunted by "This Journal's Explication" is not in accordance with the objective

laws of social development on the one hand, and runs counter to the popular orientation on the other hand. On this point the affirmation by the editors of SHIDAI DE BAOGAO is clear enough: What historical stage did the 10 years of the "cultural revolution" constitute? What, above all, did the content and substance of life of this stage include? The "Resolution" clearly points out: "The 'cultural revolution' from May 1966 to October 1976 brought the most serious setbacks and losses to the party, the country and the people since the founding of our state"; "history has already rendered a clear verdict, the 'cultural revolution' was an internal disturbance erroneously instigated by the leaders, utilized by counterrevolutionary cliques, which brought serious disasters to the party, the country, and various nationalities of the people." "This Journal's Explication" ignores the party's solemn "Resolution," goes against elementary knowledge about life, and forcibly mixes together the 10 years of the "cultural revolution" and the 6 years since the smashing of the "gang of four," i.e., the black and the white. Such a random castration of the law of historical succession between two different stages of development takes a sly attitude toward historical science; people cannot but find it hard to understand.

Zhang Minquan [1728 3046 2938] (Anhui Provincial Research Institute of Social Sciences); at a time when 40 years have elapsed since the publication of the "Talks," we have an opportunity to restudy the "Talks," better understand and implement its basic spirit, and bring about a new development in our literary and art work--this is surely meaningful. I believe that the correct attitude in commemorating the "Talks" should be to: comprehensively and accurately understand the spirit of the "Talks," conscientiously sum up the 40 years of our experience in its positive and negative aspects keep in line with reality, and proceed to solve the various new problems of our literary and art work appearing before our new situation and tasks in the manner of seeking truth from facts and not boastfully, seriously and responsibly and not frivolously. But SHIDAI DE BAOGAO's "This Journal's Explication" does not adopt such an attitude. It mentions neither comprehensively and accurately understanding the "Talks," nor the deviation in the process of implementing the "Talks" prior to the "cultural revolution," and still less the formidable struggle carried out by our party in leading the literary and art circles to return to order from disorder and break the ideological shackles resulting from the modern superstition perpetrated by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" or the great victories won by this struggle. On the contrary, it exaggerates certain defects and mistakes which have emerged in our literary and art circles today, such as the tendency toward bourgeois liberalization exhibited by isolated individuals, into a question of the overall situation; it takes them as "distortion or tampering" of the "Talks" from the Right and speaks of them in the same vein together with the extreme Leftist things such as the large-scale "deploying all" and "commanding all" from above by Lin Biao and Jiang Qing and their ilk. This approach, I am afraid, cannot itself be said to be in accordance with the spirit of the "Talks."

In commemorating the "Talks," I believe that we should also take this stand: that is, how to enrich and develop it with fresh revolutionary experience under the new historical conditions and enable it to preserve its exuberant vitality. This is an old problem; it should have been also only right and proper. Marxist

classic writers have repeatedly stressed this, and the party Central Committee at the meeting in celebration of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the party even more clearly set as one of the six tasks of the whole party "an effort to be good at pushing Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought forward under the new historical conditions." But in the case precisely of this old problem, it is easy to talk about but hard to do anything, and, if mishandled, it will get one easily blamed for "negation" or "distortion." In reality, neither Lenin nor Mao Zedong rigidly adhered to the individual principles or statements by which the revolutionaries before them discussed questions of literature and art, but each merely grasped their basic spirit, united it with the actual conditions in his own country, and thereby enriched and developed his predecessors' ideas. "This Journal's Explication" and the individually signed articles acknowledge on the one hand they ignore the change in objective conditions and the party Central Committee's principles and policies today and transfer intact the whole of Comrade Mao Zedong's discourse on ideological remolding and shifting of standpoint 40 years ago and apply it to literary and art workers who have become a part of the working class. This is liable to result in ideological confusion on the part of literary and art workers, or even in intellectual circles.

Liang Changsen: On the question of ideological remolding, we must draw a clear boundary line between ideological remolding in terms of readjusting the relationship between subjectivity and objectivity in the general sense and ideological remolding in terms of the special demand for a part of the people to remold their fundamental standpoint and viewpoint. While changing the objective world, we must also change our subjective world. Situations are in constant development and change; in order to keep our thinking in accord with objective reality, we have to continue changing our worldview. In this sense, everybody changes a great deal. This is also what Premier Zhou has described as living, studying, and changing throughout one's entire life. Literary and art workers must of course also permanently look squarely at the question of ideological remolding. But the remolding in terms of shifting one's fundamental standpoint as mentioned in the "Talks" 40 years ago has already been accomplished in literary and art circles and intellectual circles. Since the Third Plenary Session, the party Central Committee has more than once declared that the intellectuals are a part of the working class and laborers in the socialist society. Since they are already a part of the working class, the meaning of ideological remolding to them should naturally no longer be a question of shifting their fundamental standpoint. Otherwise, whither would they shift? Endlessly rattling on and stressing that the "formidable task" and "question of first importance" for literary and art workers today is "to shift their standpoint to the side of the workers, peasants, and soldiers, to the side of the proletariat" can be, if not shooting an arrow without a target, only creating confusion, which easily leads to a situation of one part of the people criticizing, discriminating against, and excluding another part of the people, and thereby confuses the thinking of the literary and art ranks and other people.

Li Huanren: Therefore, in respect to realistic problems, I believe we should conscientiously carry out study and research as Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out in his "Study and the Current Situation." During the war years, we won great victories; that was because we stressed analyzing and studying reality, and

the measures we adopted were correct. During certain periods after the founding of our state, we repeatedly suffered setbacks and losses; this was also the case in our literary and art circles. After the bloody lessons of the "cultural revolution," some people still refused to abandon discriminating against, excluding, and criticizing intellectuals. This problem, then, surely merits study.

Bai Mu [2672 2606] (responsible person of XIJUJIE editorial department): In dealing with the "Talks," we must adopt a scientific attitude, that is, the attitude of dialectical materialism and historical materialism. Like all classic works of Marxism, the "Talks" must also be continually enriched and developed in practice. Nothing can be changeless. Some comrades have investigated a little; when the newest edition of the "Talks" is compared with the earliest, several dozens of large and small revisions are found. Even so, certain propositions therein, such as "literature and art are serving politics," "political criteria first, literary and art criteria second," etc, have still been discussed and improved in practice. Some of the central responsible comrades have also repeatedly mentioned this question. This is ordinarily a normal phenomenon, because compared to 40 years ago, the situation in all respects must have undergone new changes and developments; such myriad new situations and new problems are hardly what could have been covered by the "Talks" 40 years ago. Hence, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has pointed out that we must accurately and comprehensively study and understand Mao Zedong Thought.

Besides, we must also carry out concrete analysis with respect to "interference." There are these two situations: one is that certain contents of the "Talks" itself need to be developed along with the change of time, place, and conditions; some comrades offered some discussion over this, but this cannot be considered interference, because later facts proved that there were indeed modifications. Another is when people have not studied enough and failed to understand deep enough and hence, because of their limited level, they have exhibited shortcomings in their work and deviation in their implementation; this, I am afraid, also cannot be said to be interference. Only going against the basic spirit of the "Talks" or doing something else or distorting and tampering with its original intent can be called interference. If we talk about interference, the case should be one in which such interference has existed ever since the day the "Talks" was published. Then why are not the 40 years, but only the 16 years, mentioned? Can it be said that interference did not exist before the "cultural revolution"? The "cultural revolution" did not just drop from heaven!

To study also requires an honest attitude. When we study the "Talks" today, we must keep in line with current reality, guide literary and art workers to continue to improve the ideological and artistic quality of their works, and serve as the people's loyal spokesmen. In this regard, many issues can be elaborated on, particularly the issue of artistic quality. Crudely produced works have already aroused serious dissatisfaction on the part of the masses and affected the service of literature and art to the people. With what do literary and art workers serve the people? With works unifying revolutionary political contents together with the finest possible artistic forms. A touchstone is the abundant provision of such fine works for people engaged in the construction of the four modernizations. If it can be said that today we must

develop, apply, and defend the spirit of the "Talks," then I think this point is most fundamental.

Su Zhong: Although there are not many of us participating in this forum today, we have had a good discussion, and I am highly enlightened and instructed. After reading "This Journal's Explication" and the journal's individual signed articles, my impression is: confusion. They suggest that the struggle between the two lines in the literary and art realm should always engage our attention. In response to their confused state, I believe we should draw clearly the following boundary lines:

First, we must draw clearly the fundamental boundary line between the 10 years of the "cultural revolution" and the 6 years after the smashing of the "gang of four." The Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee constituted a great shift, one of the very few major shifts in the entire history of the party since its founding. The periodization predicated on "the 16 years" puts into the same pot two radically different historical periods; thus, not only is the significance of the Third Plenary Session as a shift dismissed, but even today, when people are devoting themselves with great enthusiasm and fanfare to the construction of the four modernizations, seems not very different from the time when the "gang of four" held sway. However other things might be treated, the fundamental boundary line between these two different historical periods must not be confused.

Second, we must clearly draw the distinction between the guiding ideology and literary and art practices. During the 10 years of internal disturbance, the guiding ideology authorizing the stuff perpetrated by the Lin and Jiang counterrevolutionary cliques was an extreme Leftist thing. They exerted a fascist dictatorship over the people, persecuted the intellectual circles, negated culture, and strangled the hundred flowers; from their guiding ideology to their practical effects, there was consistency. After the smashing of the "gang of four," and especially since the Third Plenary Session, the party's guiding ideology has been entirely correct. It implemented the "double-hundred" policy and enabled literary and art creations to prosper; from the guiding ideology to a series of principles, policies and measures, their implementation has all been good and great achievements have been scored. As for mistakes and defects that show up in our literary and art practices, these are unavoidable in any period. They were there in the past, they are here now, and they will be there in the future. As long as there are men, there are literary and art creations, then good, relatively good, and not so good or even bad works will always crop up. Our task is to affirm good ones and criticize bad ones. But literary and art practices are not the same as a guiding ideology. Certain tendencies of bourgeois liberalization that exist today are partial, individual problems; they are neither general nor the whole of literary and art circles, much less the guiding ideology for literature and art. It is appropriate and necessary to point out in time and solemnly criticize such practices. But we must never take partial, individual literary and art practices as the overall inclination of a historical period and still less take them as a guiding ideology and thereby mention it in the same vein together with Lin's and Jiang's counterrevolutionary plots.

Third, when we point out the tendency of bourgeois liberalization, we should distinguish liberalization from common defects and mistakes. Otherwise, the havoc would be great, indeed! When we speak of bourgeois liberalization, we mean the tendency of people to cast off or weaken party leadership and violate the four basic principles in their political ideology. With respect to this tendency, we must of course forthrightly and confidently criticize it; but this by no means suggests that wherever defects and mistakes are found we should attach the label of bourgeois liberalization. Among today's literary and art creations, the least welcome to the masses and the most repulsive to people are those crudely fabricated creations reflecting a paucity of ideas as well as vulgarity. There are also formula application, commercialization, concept diagramming, etc. These phenomena are of course not good and should be seriously overcome, but they by no means pertain to bourgeois liberalization. Today some critical articles almost take everything as bourgeois liberalization; they even take normal pursuits and explorations in artistic forms as bourgeois liberalization. This is really not very scientific, and it is bound to dilute our criticism of liberalization.

Fourth, in connection with the above, when we criticize bourgeois liberalization we must likewise draw clearly a boundary line between free competition in literary and art creation, academic free discussion, and liberalization. If as soon as we see the adjective "free" we immediately talk about "liberalization," that would be a violation of the "double-hundred" policy. Because the essence of the "double-hundred" policy is to encourage free competition in creation and free discussion in academic fields. We are opposed to the use of the free label for the purpose of propagating viewpoints violating the four basic principles or seeking to cast off or weaken party leadership; we are opposed to the use of the free label for the purpose of perpetrating yellow, base, horrifying things, things harmful to the physical and mental health of the people; we are opposed to the use of the free label for the purpose of violating the law and discipline, committing outrages, encroaching upon other people's interests, and sabotaging social order. We must never negate free competition in literary and art creation or free contention in the academic fields just because we are opposed to bourgeois liberalization. Concerning artistic freedom itself, I believe it is still necessary to return to the principled stand expounded by Lenin in his "Party Organization and Party Literature" and that we cannot practice minority obeying majority, we cannot make everything uniform. Also, as Comrade Deng Xiaoping has said, what to write about and how to write it is a writer's own business; we should not interfere arbitrarily. His success or failure, gain or loss, must be judged by readers' appraisal; whether his works should be developed or eliminated must be answered through practice. If writers are afraid of innovation, if scholars are afraid of exploration, then "Let a hundred flowers bloom, let a hundred schools contend" will naturally lose any meaning it has.

Fifth, we must also draw a clear boundary line between ideological emancipation, the breaking of conventions, and bourgeois liberalization. "This Journal's Explication" alleges that "After the smashing of the 'gang of four,' some people again sought to break the 'Talks' as conventions; in the end, they could not but get themselves bogged down in the mudpit of bourgeois liberalization." The hint beyond the words is that bourgeois liberalization has resulted from break-

ing this convention and that convention. Actually, breaking conventions was aimed at those with the "two-whatever" viewpoint, at those who dissect Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and who make use of partial statements and isolated words to create theoretical confusion. Those artificial, anti-scientific conventions proven to be harmful by practice must and should be broken. Returning to order from disorder was meant to break these conventions. Breaking these conventions represents social progress and constitutes a contribution to history. As for some people who, because of their perception in the process of emancipating their thinking, broke not the sham-Marxist-Leninist shackles but collided with certain correct things, these are in the extreme minority; criticizing such mistakes is justifiable, but we cannot take these people as having committed bourgeois liberalization. Of course, if they utilize our socialist artistic democracy to propagate the view of bourgeois liberalization, we shall be resolutely opposed to them, but we must draw a clear boundary line. When people explore new problems in theory, it is possible for them to drift into deviation; in such a case, the involved parties must seek to avoid such deviation as much as possible and when they openly publish their views on major issues they must be prudent; as onlookers, they should allow others to make their own mistakes. What should be done if people make mistakes? If they do, you may write articles to criticize them; if they refuse to accept this, they may also write articles in reply, and new criticism is likewise permissible. The more debate, the clearer the truth will become; a problem can always be clarified. The concept of emancipating our thinking and breaking conventions is part of the spirit of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee; it has no cause-and-effect relationship in respect to bourgeois liberalization whatsoever; we cannot use it indiscriminately.

(Arranged by Duan Rudong [3008 0320 2639])

Role of Literary Criticism

Hefei ANHUI WENXUE [ANHUI LITERATURE] in Chinese No 5, 1982, May 82 pp 69-73

[Article by Su Zhong: "Literary Criticism Should Be Developed--Notes on Studying the 'Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art'"]

[Text] Literary criticism is an important wing of literary movement. The success or failure of literary movement or literary creation depends on literary criticism for summing up and analysis. The rise and development of China's new literary movement and proletarian literature and art in the processes of their early birth and growth have both depended on the guidance and support of literary criticism. Literary criticism and literary creation have always developed and grown in a mutually supplementary and complementary way. From the 4 May Movement to the war of resistance against Japan, China's literary and art circles underwent repeated major debates, and during each debate the revolutionary, progressive literary camp invariably relied on, and used, this weapon of literary criticism in winning the battle against the spread of the feudalist, comprador, and other kinds of reactionary and obsolescent literary trends. Many predecessors at the time, such as the great Lu Xun and his fighting comrades Qu Qiubai, Guo Moruo, Mao Dun, etc, were all very concerned about literary criticism and, as they engaged themselves in their writing undertakings, at the

same time applied the weapon of criticism in carrying out their struggle on the literary front, thus propelling the development and growth of the new literary movement.

After the war of resistance against Japan, the proletarian new literary movement in China entered into a new historical period. A large contingent of writers went to Yanan and arrived in the new world of resistance against Japan and of democracy. Here there were new objects for expression and new objects for service different from those in the Kuomintang-ruled areas; there were new demands by the masses of the people on literature and art; hence, the new literary movement came face to face with the question of how to "unite with the new era of the masses."

It was in the face of such new conditions and new problems encountered by our literary work that Comrade Mao Zedong published his well-known "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art." The "Talks" succinctly analyzed a series of fundamental questions encountered by the revolutionary literary movement in its practice with his dexterous Marxist worldview; from the plane of unity of theory and practice, he scientifically discoursed and solved various questions as regards literature and art and the people, literature and art and the revolution, literature and art and life, typical creation in literature and art, popularization and elevation in literature and art, succession and innovation in literature and art, etc, and thereby enriched and developed our Marxist esthetics, blazed a new path for our revolutionary literary movement, established a new orientation, and guided the triumphant forward march of our revolutionary literary cause.

The "Talks" paid great attention to the question of literary criticism.

In the "Talks," Comrade Mao Zedong not only pointed out in the general sense that "one of the main methods of struggle in our literary and art circles is literary criticism," and "literary criticism should be developed"; he likewise concretely expounded on the goals, criteria and methods of such criticism. He pointed out: "Our criticism should also accommodate free competition by multifarious artistic products; but we must correctly criticize them according to the standards of artistic science in order to gradually elevate them from a low level of art to a higher level of art, and to change them from an art not adapted to the needs of the vast ranks of the masses in their struggle to an art that is so adapted. This is entirely necessary." That is to say, the purpose of our launching a criticism, be it compliment, censure, commendation or depreciation, is always or promote the improvement of the quality of the products in question, to bolster free competition between multifarious artistic works, to rectify improper tendencies in artistic creation or artistic activity, so as to help artistic creation develop from a low level to a higher level along the correct path. But how are we to appraise the level of the ideology and art in literary and art works? With what yardstick are we to measure the right or wrong, high or low, in art? On the one hand Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "All classes in all class societies invariably put the political criterion first and the artistic criterion second." On the other hand, he also clearly explained: "Politics is not the same as art, nor is our general worldview the same as methods for artistic creation and artistic criticism. We not only deny

abstract, absolutely unchanging political criteria but we also deny abstract, absolutely unchanging artistic criteria." "What we require is the unity of politics and art, the unity of content and form, and the unity of revolutionary political content and the finest possible artistic form." Such a view based on unity is the very criterion for us to use in launching our literary criticism. On the one hand, when we criticize a literary work (naturally a work with concrete literary quality), we must first of all examine its meaning politically and ideologically; we cannot allow the kind of work that is harmful to the people, disadvantageous to the cause of our revolution or construction, or obstructive to the physical and mental health of youths and children to spread freely. But at the same time, we must examine the potential of its artistic influence and not allow some mouthpiece-like, formularized, and crude thing to pass off as genuine art. Because the political character or ideological character of a literary work is not isolated or imposed from without; it must imply through a given artistic image. That is, the ideological inclination of art is not, nor can it be permitted to be, told, but it must be implied in that image and hence flow out spontaneously from a scene or a story. Formularized preaching or diagramming a certain concept, however progressive it might be politically, is not the political character or ideological character we demand in a literary work. In this regard, Comrade Mao Zedong further expounded: "Works of art which lack artistic quality have no force, however progressive they are politically. Therefore, we oppose both the tendency to produce works of art with a wrong political viewpoint and the tendency toward the 'poster and slogan style' which is correct from a political viewpoint but lacking in artistic power. On questions of literature and art we must carry on a struggle on two fronts."

These fundamental viewpoints expounded by Comrade Mao Zedong in this regard, whether then or now, are of great guiding significance. Comprehensively and accurately understanding these viewpoints and at the same time guiding and launching our work of literary criticism with this spirit is an indispensable link in our entire literary work. Most of our writers and critics under ordinary circumstances are able to master this principle of criticism. Actually, we really have not a few correct, beneficial works of literary criticism which are promoting creation, fostering new-born forces, helping readers to appreciate art, criticizing unwholesome tendencies in our literary activities, and doing a great deal of work in other such aspects. But we also cannot deny that, over the years, literary criticism has always remained in a backward state, and under certain circumstances literary criticism has not only failed to give scope to its due positive role but sometimes has even engendered a negative effect. Tracing the reasons in this regard, we think that objectively it was influenced by the "Leftist" guiding ideology and expanded, excessive struggles in political movements; hence in their critical exercises the critics often sought to criticize questions in the realm of academic thought and questions of right and wrong in general art, as well as to try to liquidate them, as if they were political questions; sometimes they even criticized basically correct viewpoints as erroneous expressions or reactionary expressions. This inevitably transformed literary criticism under certain circumstances into an instrument of persecution of others and thereby some comrades were mistreated. On the other hand, because some of our comrades failed to comprehensively and accurately understand Comrade Mao Zedong's overall viewpoints on literary criticism, but

partially stressed certain aspects of his viewpoints or certain statements, they refused to acknowledge that the development and change in objective situations required supplement, development or new interpretation in theory, dissected the unity outlook of politics and art in literary criticism, and thereby criticized various literary phenomena with the kind of "abstract, absolutely unchanging political criteria" profoundly opposed by Comrade Mao Zedong. This, too, could not but lead literary criticism to follow a biased path. Thus not a few critical articles have sought only to talk about politics and not about art, only to make political demands on the authors and not carry out any analysis as to questions of art, questions of esthetic value, and questions of technique; nominally called literary criticisms, then, it became of matter only of politics. The upshot, naturally, could hardly be of any benefit to the healthy development of our literary undertakings.

During the 10 years of turmoil, the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques transformed literary criticism into an instrument with which to exercise their fascist dictatorship over the vast ranks of the literary and art workers; they demonstrated their tremendous frenzy, barbarity and cruelty, made literary criticism undergo a complete metamorphosis and change into a bloodthirsty sword in the hands of the "gang of four." The so-called mass criticism perpetrated by their ilk was but murmurings of political frame-up, and their so-called analysis--namely, whether something checked with the key link or should be regarded as a matter of principle--was but a mixture of a tyrant's tyranny (what I say counts) and the wandering swindlers' character-analysis and dream-rationalization (what I have guessed is true).

Because such so-called criticism, both reactionary and preposterous, filled newspapers and journals, broadcasts, and publications for as long as 10 years, apart from the evils these written words created themselves, they also gave rise to a very bad additional effect, and that is that they fundamentally ruined the reputation of literary criticism and seriously polluted our spiritual and moral civilization. That kind of cultural scoundrel outlook, relishing the abuse of others, scolding others and persecuting others, repels people and makes them fearful even when it is mentioned today.

After the smashing of the "gang of four," especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, there has appeared under the guidance of the party's correct policy a vast thriving scene in our literary work; literary criticism has also recovered its original outlook and reflected a duly positive and active momentum. In such aspects as returning to order from disorder, sweeping away the remnant poison of extreme Leftism, adhering to the spirit of the Third Plenary Session, criticizing the viewpoint of the "two whatevers," and actively supporting new products and new people in literature, the critics have done a great deal of outstanding and effective work. At the same time, the atmosphere of academic discussion in the realm of literary thought and literary theory has also become greatly enlivened; not a few duly important theoretical questions and currently encountered new problems are now being explored through the form of a hundred schools contending. The overall trend is very good.

But the backward state of our literary criticism is not yet solved, nor is the normalization of our literary criticism completely realized.

When we say that our literary criticism is backward, we mean that it has fallen both behind the development of creation and behind the urgent need for it on the part of the masses of the people.

When we say that the normalization of our literary criticism still awaits our continued effort, that is because interference in such criticism from the "Left" and the Right has still not been removed, and certain unwholesome practices in our critical activities and people's inadequate perception of such criticism also remain to be further overcome. The feeble and debilitated state that literary criticism reflected in a certain period, above all, also merits our attention.

During the past few years, literary criticism has become indeed far more active than before, but its quantity and quality (especially quality) still fall far behind the requirements of the masses. Among those writings commonly seen in newspapers and journals, those which dabble in perfunctory criticism and introduction are numerous, but those which engage themselves in a practical analysis of good and bad are few; those discussions of an ad lib style are numerous, but systematic special studies are few; those which parrot other people's views are numerous, but those with independent and creative views are few; those appraising the ancients, murmuring about foreigners, and discussing authors before the 1930's are numerous, but these profoundly explicating the practical problems of current authors and in current creation are few. In particular, there has been a lack of timely and cogent criticism regarding the erroneous tendency of resisting the spirit of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the reflection of the viewpoint of the "two whatevers" in the literary realm, and reflection of the tendency of bourgeois liberalization in violation of the four basic principles in our literary thought and literary creation; no struggle on the two fronts has been forthrightly confidently and sensibly carried out. This is even a worse reflection of how literary criticism has not fulfilled its responsibility well. Responsible comrades of the party Central Committee have asked us to strengthen our literary criticism, better apply the weapon of criticism to solving the myriad problems prevailing in our literature and art today, and further normalize and regularize our literary criticism. All this is entirely necessary.

In order to have our literary criticism normalized, the critical circles must themselves first continue to cleanse away the ideological influence of the "Left" and correctly understand the function of literary criticism.

Criticism and self-criticism are the basic methods and basic workstyle for solving ideological problems among our people. Literary criticism is a method by which the literary circles seek to exchange ideas, compliment the good and censure the bad, commend strong points and deprecate weak points, as well as to effect mutual consultation. The content of first importance in the normalization of our criticism is to solve the various problems in literature with the method of literary criticism. All problems in art concerning success or failure, good or bad, and concerning the tendencies in artistic activities, im-

portant debates in literary thought and literary works, should be solved according to the laws of art itself and not handled simplistically by way of administrative orders, much less forcibly suppressed by involving the approach of resorting to movements, as adopted in the past. The struggles in literature and art of various times have left in the realm of criticism a rather deep "Leftist" influence; some people cannot correctly understand the function of literary criticism and hence they talk about "liquidation" and "struggle" day in and day out, not taking criticism as a means to exchange ideas and unite with comrades, but simplistically taking it as an instrument of struggle; in their articles there is implicit always a "mass criticism" atmosphere which frightens people on sight. This is one of the major reflections hampering normalization of our literary criticism; it should be energetically overcome.

In launching criticism we must adhere to the spirit of criticizing with a view to helping others, seeking truth from facts, and equal consultation. We must both allow the critics to express various views about right and wrong, good and bad in people's literary creations or literary work, including their incomplete or even erroneous views, and permit the criticized to adhere to or reserve their own views before a new understanding is achieved, including their erroneous views. In the case of really major erroneous tendencies emerging in people's literary creations and literary work, we should both offer criticism in a clear-cut manner and join the solemn ideological battle between comrades, and at the same time maintain in our criticism an attitude of patient reasoning and sensible persuasion; we must resolutely abandon overbearing, arbitrary, and crude criticism and enable the criticized to absorb lessons from our criticism and not a feeling that a calamity is being imposed, so that people in society will also refrain from looking askance at someone who has been subjected to criticism. By maintaining this attitude on a long-term basis and fostering it as a general custom, literary criticism will become spontaneously normalized.

Second, maintaining a solemn attitude, a scientific spirit, and a moral civility pertaining to debate in our criticism is also a key to the normalization of our literary criticism. The core here is seeking truth from facts. Literary criticism is a science; whatever we may be criticizing, we must proceed from reality and give an appraisal according to the real overall outlook of the criticized; all vulgar applauding, mutual trumpeting, raising an alarm by exaggeration, pleasing the public with claptrap or indiscriminately raising questions to a matter of principle, swinging one's stick at random, are incompatible with the scientific spirit of Marxism.

Solemnity in attitude includes shooting an arrow at a concrete target, criticizing with a view to helping people, a correct writing style, truth-seeking and similar factors. In our criticism we should master the whole entity and overall outlook of the object. When we criticize a person we must take into consideration the whole person and his consistent performance; when we criticize an article we must pay attention to the general inclination of the whole article; when we appraise problems in a literary movement we must take note of the main trend. In the writing career of any writer there are always some unavoidable failures as well as successes, and an individual work often also has its strong points and weak points; a literary movement in any period is likewise liable to lead to this or that kind of problem. The task of our criticism is to point out

where the success or the failure lies on the basis of veritable facts and also analyze its causes so as to help the readers or audience improve or deepen their understanding thereof. Successful literary criticism not only directly affects the vast ranks of the masses of readers but, while criticizing a writer, an individual work, or a certain literary practice, at the same time it provides certain experience or lessons in the nature of a law and thereby exerts a major influence upon the literary creations or literary movement in a given period. In mentioning the need to take into consideration the whole person or overall inclination of an article, we do not mean that a writer's temporary shortcomings and partial deviations or the sideline problems in a literary movement cannot be criticized. Such criticism is permissible and also entirely necessary. The question is have the matter confined in a given context without exaggeration or contraction, to refrain from negating the entirety because of the partial deviation, and, similarly to refrain from overlooking or forgiving its specific shortcomings just because the general entity is good. In the course of a criticism, there are naturally some unavoidable citations and quotations, but here we should also take into consideration the general inclination of the general entity and do our best to see to it that, when we undercut a chapter we refrain from doing harm to that chapter, and when we cite its meaning we refrain from distorting that meaning. Only when we respect the original meaning of the original text can we readily convince others. Certain critics specialize in seizing upon a chapter or taking out a statement, attributing meaning to a seemingly suited text, or exercising their fancy with indulgence and speculation in an unwarranted fashion; theirs can really not be said to be criticism based on a solemn attitude.

Adhering to the "three-nots" principle in literary criticism is a public morality which must be followed in the launching of criticism and self-criticism activities among the people. When justice is on one's side, one need not raise one's voice; when one is on the side of justice, one is bound to be forthright and confident. The swashbuckling approach in an unreasonable manner, speculating and distorting, and attaching labels at random is incompatible with our socialist spiritual and moral civilization.

Third, the content of the normalization of our literary criticism should also include permission for those who criticize to make mistakes and also to correct their mistakes.

Because literary criticism shoulders a certain role in guiding a literary movement and literary creation, people always make higher demands on criticism; they hope that theoretical and critical articles will always be correct, comprehensive, and profound. Such demands are of course generally reasonable, but in reality it is rather difficult to achieve all this. This is because, in the first place, literary creation is a product of spiritual labor; its peculiarity determines the fact that people cannot in a brief moment see all of its essence clearly; some things cannot be correctly understood until they are socially tested. Second, the level of perception on the part of the critics is also limited by objective conditions. We may require all critics to have a high Marxist level and ability in artistic discrimination, but we have no way of expecting them to treat everything correctly without fail. Therefore we should also permit a critic to make mistakes. In the case of partiality, in-

accuracy, or even erroneous judgment that appear in literary criticism, the best approach is to continue to correct it or contend with it through criticism; through criticism and counter criticism, the truth will be made increasingly clearer. This should be able not only to rectify the inadequacy or inappropriateness of a certain critical view but also greatly promote the improvement of the level of our literary criticism.

On the critics' part, they should of course do their best to see that their criticism is correct and comprehensive; they should never engage in such an undertaking with a rash attitude, much less treat themselves as superior to everyone else and assume an arrogance toward others by taking the posture that they are always ready to teach others. But on the part of the criticized, they too must cultivate a style of being able to listen to criticism. Whether what is said is good or bad, or even erroneous, if one can still listen and even feel pleased when one hears about one's faults, that is a virtue promoting one's own progress. In contrast, if one cannot stand listening to any criticism, cannot tolerate different opinions, rejects criticism, and shouts "Here come the stick again" when a little ordinary criticism is heard, then that will ultimately bring harm to the person himself. Naturally, the criticized may disagree with incorrect criticism and may reserve his own opinion and also offer counter criticism. We should through such positive discussion and contention seek to overcome the incorrect aspect of criticism and infer from it even more correct and more enlightened criticism. But we should not simplistically refuse to permit criticism which has defects and mistakes to exist.

We should restudy the "Talks," conscientiously implement the principles and methods for launching criticism and self-criticism as advocated by Comrade Mao Zedong, earnestly improve and strengthen our work in practicing literary criticism, and enable it to play even a greater role in our socialist modernization.

(Responsible editor Duan Rudong)

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